THE HISTORIE of Quintus Curtius, conteining the actes of the great Alexander, translated out of Latin into Englishe by Iohn Brende.

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¶ In ædibus Rogeri Warde.

Anno Domini,
1584.

THE HISTORY

¶TO THE RIGHT HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, IOHN Duke of Northumberland, Earle marshall of England, &c. IOHN BRENDE wisheth continuall prosperitie, with encrease of honour.



MAny haue written, and experience beſides declareth, how neceſſary Hiſtoricall knowledge is to all kinde of men, but ſpecially to Princes and to others whiche excell in dignity or beare authoritie in any common weale: the ſame being counted the moſt excellent kind of knowledge, the chiefeſt part of ciuill prudence, and the mirrour of mans lyfe. There is required in all magiſtrates both a faith and feare in God, and alſo an outward policy in worldly thinges, whereof as the one is to be learned by the Scriptures, ſo the other muſt chiefly be gathered by reading of Hiſtories. For in them men may ſee the grounds & beginninges of common wealthes, the cauſes of their increaſe, of their proſperous maintenance, and good preſeruation, and againe by what meanes they decreaſed, decayed, and came to ruine. There the vertues and vices of men doe appeare, howe by theyr good doinges they flouriſhed, and by their euill actes they decayed. Howe they proſpered ſo long, as they maintained iuſtice, perſecuted vice, vſed clemency and mercy, were liberall, religious, vertuous, and voyd of couetouſneſſe: And contrariwiſe how they fell to manifold calamities, miſeries, and troubles, when they embraced vice, and forſooke vertue. In hiſtories it is apparant how dangerous it is to begin alterations in

a common wealth. Howe euuie, and hatreds oft rising vpon small causes, haue beene the destruction of greate kingdomes. And the disobeyers of higher powers, and such as rebelled against magistrates, neuer escaped punishment, nor came to good ende. In them there be presidents for all cases that may happen, in folowing the good, in eschuing the euill, in auoiding inconueniences, and in foreseeing mischiefes. In them may bee learned how to temper in prosperitie, howe to endure in aduersitie, and after what maner men should vse themselues, both in time of peace and warre. As in all artes there be certaine principles and rules for men to folowe, so in histories there bee ensamples painted out of all kind of vertues, wherin both the dignitie of vertue & fowlnes of vice appeareth much more liuely then in any morall teaching: there beeing expressed by waye of example, all that Philosophie teacheth by waye of precepts. This is such a kinde of knowledge, as maketh menne apte euen with small experience either to gouerne in publike matters, or in their owne priuate affaires: For by comparing thinges past with thinges present, men may easily gather what is to be folowed, and what is to bee eschued. And hee which can reade them wyth such iudgement, weighing the times with the causes and occasions of thinges, shall both see most deepelie in all matters, best declare his opinion, and winne most estimation of prudence and wisedeme. For if aged men bee esteemed for the wisest by reason of their experience: Or if Homer painted forth in the person of Ulisses the Image of a perfecte wise man: imputing the cause thereof to the knowledge he had gathered by trauailing many countreyes, and by viewing and marking the customs and maners of diuers nations: Then such as bee well expert in Histories, and by the well applying of them, can take the due fruite perteining to the same: muste nedes obteyne profoundnesse of iudgement, with a stable and grounded wisedome. For in them men may beholde as it were before their eyes, both the whole worlde, and the gouernement thereof, with the policies, and Lawes, the Discipline, customes, and manners of all people from the beginning.

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This is such a thing, that whosoeuer is clerely void of it, though he be endued with neuer so great witte otherwise, with such aptnes of nature, or other goodly vertues: Yet when he shall haue to do in weighty affaires, he shall finde a certaine maime and imperfectiō not onely in ciuill gouernment, but also in matters pertaining to the warre.

For although in an excellent Capitaine nature must giue the chiefest partes, that is to say, hardines, stoutnes of stomacke, with a naturall wisedome and vnderstanding (by which qualities onely (experience thereunto adioined) diuers haue become famous capitains) Yet this is a thing that giueth a greater policie, groundeth a deeper iudgement, addeth a further ornament & glorie, and fourmeth a perfectnes and an excellencie in a shorter space.

The shortnes of a mans life shortened besides by so manie casualties, is the cause that men be taken awaye before they can gette such an actuall experience as may make them perfecte, and commonly become rotten, before they can attaine to a ripenesse in knowledge. But by this kinde of learning in youth a man is become aged, he hath knowledge without experience, he is wise before it is looked for, hee is become a Counsailour the first houre, and a man of warre the first daye.

The same thing hath beene verified in many, which in young age haue beene prudent Counsellers, and in small experience politique Capitaines. Alexander here of is an eminent example, who brought vp vnder Aristotle in learning, and so giuen to this kinde of studie, that he had Homer alwaies layde vnder his beds head, (whereby he might be admonished of the vertues and office of an excellent Prince) entred into his kingdome when he was but twentie yeeres of age: and neuerthelesse both established his owne estate with such prudence, that within short space (besides the enlarging of his owne boundes) he subdued the greatest parte of the world. And albeit he began so young, and continued so small time: yet no mans actes bee comparable to his: being counted the moste excellent Capitayne from the beginning. But if any man will impute the

greatneſſe of his doinges to the perfect diſcipline the Macedones vſed in the warres, and to the politicke Captaine, and expert ſouldiers, left to him by his father Philip: it ſhall appeare euidently by the decay of realmes when they haue bene gouerned by imprudent Princes, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaines receiued when they were conducted by euill Captaynes, that no prudence of counſellours can take place, nor any diſcipline or experience of the ſouldiers can auayle, if the head be not a man of excellent vertue. There is nothing new vnder the ſunne (as the wiſe man ſaith) and it is impoſſible for any thing to chaunce eyther in the warre or in common pollicie, but that the lyke may be founde to haue chaunced in times paſt. All which thinges layd vp in memory, as in place of ſtore: men may alwaies be furniſhed for all chaunces that may occurre. Seeing hiſtories be then ſo good and neceſſarie, it were muche requiſite for mens inſtruction, that they were tranſlated into ſuche tongues as moſt men might vnderſtand them: and ſpecially the hiſtories of antiquitie, which both for the greatneſſe of the actes done in thoſe daies, and for the excellency of the writers, haue much maieſtie and many enſamples of vertue. I therefore hauing alwaies deſired that we Engliſhmen might be found as forwarde in that behalfe as other nations, whiche haue brought all worthy hiſtories into their naturall language, did (a fewe yeares paſt) attempt the tranſlatiō of Quintus Curtius, and lately (vppon an occaſion) perfourmed and accompliſhed the ſame. Whiche Aucthour treating of the acts of the great Alexander, being figured in the Prophetes, Ieremie and Daniell, and mentioned in the firſt booke of the Machabies, ſeeme to haue bene borne, and brought forth into the worlde, not without a moſt ſpeciall prouidence and predeſtination of God: who proſpered ſo his proceedinges that (as Iuſtine writeth) he neuer encountered with any enemies whome he ouercame not, he beſieged no Citie that he wan not, nor aſſailed nation that he ſubdued not. This ſo worthy a matter I thought good to dedicate vnto your Grace, following their enſample that haue trauelled in the like ſtudy, which are wont to declare their good

willes,

willes, by bestowing of their labours.

Thereunto I was also moued the rather, by considering the qualities of your Grace, whiche seeme to haue certaine affinitie and resemblaunce with such as were the verie vertues in Alexander. For Arianus writeth of him that he was of a seemely stature, bolde in his enterpriles, stout of stomacke, moderate in pleasures, wise in counsaile, & prouident to foresee thinges, that he was excellent in conducting of an armie, moste politique in ordering his battails, that he could encourage his souldiers with apt wordes, and when nede required take part of their perill. What partes of this be in your grace, let them iudge that haue known your actes in the warres, and your excellent seruice done, both in the time of the Kinges maiestie that nowe is, and also in his Fathers daies of moste famous memorie. Although in doing hereof I haue not peraduenture satisfied all mens expectations: yet my truste is, that your Grace will accept the same in good part, and consider that in a translation a man cannot alwaies vse his owne beyne, but shall bee compelled to tread in the Authors steppes, which is harder, and a more difficult thing to doo, then walke his owne pace.

¶THE FIRST BOOKE OF QVIN-tus Curtius supplyed of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.

PHILIP of Macedon, which by subduing of Greece, did firste bring his Countrey in reputation, was the sonne of Amyntas: a man endued with wisedome, hardinesse, and all other vertues of a noble Capitaine. The same Amyntas had by Euridice his wife three sonnes: Alexander, Perdicas, and Philip, who was the Father of great Alexander: with a Daughter also called Eurione. The Queene Euridice beeing in amours with one that had married her Daughter, conspired the death of the King her husband to the intent to haue married with her sonne in Lawe, and to make him King: which thing she had brought to effecte, had not the treason, and whoredome of the mother, beene opened by the daughter in time. After the death of Amyntas, Alexander the eldest sonne enioyed his Fathers kingdome: which in the beginning of his raigne was so assailed on all sides, that hee was driuen by force to purchase peace of the Illyrians with money, by giuing his brother Philip in hostage. And afterwardes by the same

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pledge, made a like peace with the Thebans, beeing the occasion that Philip did attaine to such excellencie of knowledge & wisdome. For by reason that hee was committed to the custodie of Epaminundas, who was a valiaunt Captaine, and an excellent Philosopher, hee was brought vp in the trade of honeste Disciplines, and princely maners, greatlie profiting vnder a Philosopher of Pythagoras schole, whome Epamynundas kept in his house for the instruction of his Sonne. In the meane season Alexander was slayne by the meanes of Euridice hys mother, whose former treason king Amyntas her Husbande had pardoned in respecte of the Children had betweene them, little thinking that shee would afterwards haue beene their destruction. For when Alexander was dende, shee caused in lyke maner, her other sonne Perdicas to bee slaine: which Perdicas left behind him one Sonne beeing a young babe. About the same time Philip the youngest brother, beeing by good hap escaped out of Prison, returned into Macedon, and not taking vppon him the name of King, remained a great while no otherwise but as Gouernour or Tutor to his young nephewe. Neuertheless, afterwardes by occasion of sundrie mischiefes growing in the state, the same beeing such as might not well hang till the yong king should come to his ages for that he appeared to bee a man of singular actiuitie, and of no lesse skil in feats of warre, then in knowledge of

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Philosophie, was compelled by the people to take vpon him to be king of Macedon, which as then stode in harde plight, and great daunger of ruine. This was done 400. yeeres after the buil ding of Rome, and the 105. Olympiade. In the beginning of his raigne he was combred with infinite troubles: for all the countreys neere about (as it were by a generall conspiracie) moued warre against him, and at one time sundrie nations swarmed togither out of sundrie partes to ouercome his kingdome. Wherefore considering that it stode him vppon to worke warily, (not beeing able to match them all at once) pacified some with faire promises, other with money, and the weakest he withstode with force. By that meanes hee both made his enemies afraide, and confirmed the hearts of his people, which he founde discouraged, and sore amased. These thinges hee wrought with great sleight and fineneſſe of witte in such sorte that he minished not anie part of his honour, estate, or reputation, determining neuertheles as time should serue, to deale with euerie one aparte. His first warre was with the Athenians, whome hee ouercame by sleight and policie. And where it laye in his power to haue put them all to the sworde, hee set them all at libertie without raunsome. By which point of clemencie (though it was but counterfeit, beeing done for feare of a greater warre at hand, yet it got him great good will, and estimation vniuersally. After that hee

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subdued the Peons, and from thence turned his power against the Illirians, of whome he slewe manie thousandes, and wan the noble Cittie of Larissa. That done hee mooued warre against the Thessalians, not for anie desire of their goods or spoile of their country, but of a policie to adde to his strength the force of their horsmen, which at those daies were counted the cheefest of the world. This his purpose he brought wel to passe for being sodenly assailed, they were sone broght to subiection. So Philip ioined the force of their horsemen vnto his footemen, whereby he made his power inuincible. After all these things happily brought to passe, he toke to wife Olympias, one of the daughters of Neoptolemus King of the Molossons. That marriage was concluded by the meanes of Arisba, who had the gouernment of Olympias, by marrying of her other sister called Troada. This marriage which he thought to haue made for his suertie, turned afterwardes to his subuersion. For thinking to haue made himselfe stronge by the affinitie of Philip, hee was at length by him depriued of the whole kingdome, and ended his life miserablie in exile. Not long after this marriage, King Philip dreamed that hee sawe his Wyues wombe wonderfullie swollen, and to hys seeming a liuely Image of a Lyon thereupon: by which dreame the Diuiners, and dreame readers did interprete that his Wife was conceiued of a childe, that should bee of a Lyons heart

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and courage: which interpretation pleased him much. Afterwardes at the assault of a Cittie called Methron, by shotte of an arrowe hee loste his righte eye. Whereof, though the displeasure was great, yet was he contente vppon their submission to take them to mercie. He wanne also the Cittie of Pagus, and annexed the same vnto his kingdome. He inuaded the lande of the Triballes, and at one instant conquered it, with all the countreys thereabout.

Thus hauing made his kingdome strong by subduing his neighboures: at his returne home his Wife Olympias was deliuered of his sonne Alexander the 8. day of Aprill. Of these good fortunes the king reioiced no lesse then reason was hauing established his countrey at home, subdued his enemies abroade, and gotten an heire to succéde in his kingdome. He could haue desired no more of God, if the minde of man could euer bée satisfied, which the more it hath, the more it coueteth. As dominion increaseth, so dooth also the desire to haue more: which was well séene in Philip, that still did compasse howe to growe greate by taking from his neighboures, and laye alwaies lyke a spye, awayting tyme and occasion, & how to catch from euerie man. Whereunto hee had occasion ministred by the Cities of Gréece: for whiles one did couet to subdue an other, and through ambition were at strife who should bée chiefe, by one and one he brought them al at length to subiection, perswa-

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ding the smaller states to moue warre against the greater, and to serue his purpose, contryued the wayes to sette them altogether by the Eares. But at length when his practises were perceiued, diuers Citties fearing his increase, confederated against him as their common enemie, but chiefly the Thebans. Neuertheless in necessitie when they were driuen to wage men of warre, they chose him to bee their generall Capitaine against the Lacedemonians, and the Phoceans, which had spoyled the Temple of Apollo. This warre he honorably atchieued so that by punishing of their sacrilege, he gotte himselfe great honour in all those partes. But in the ende espying eyther of those Countreyes to bée brought lowe with the Warre, he found the meanes to subdue both the one and the other compelling as well the ouercommers, as the ouercome to bée his tributaries and Subiectes. Then made hee a voyage into Cappadocia, where killing, and taking prisoners all the princes there-aboutes, reduced the whole Prouince to the subiection of Macedon. Hee conquered Olynthus, and within a while put his foote in Thrace. For where the two Kings of that countrey were at variaunce about the limits of their kingdomes, and chose him to be their arbitrer, he gladly toke it vppon him. But at the daye appoynted for the Judgement, hee came not thyther lyke a Judge with a Counsell, but lyke a warriour with an Armie, and to parte

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the strife, expulsed both the parties from their kingdoms. By this time young Alexander was twelue yéeres of age, and began to take great delight in the feates of warre, shewing most manifest signes of a noble heart and Princely courage. He was very swift of foot, & one day at a solempne game of running called Olympiacum, being demaunded by some of his companions if he would runne a race with them: gladly (quoth he) if heere were Kinges sonnes to runne withall. An other time when certaine Embassadors of the Persians came into Macedon, Alexander which in his Fathers absence toke vppon him their entertainment, and deuising with them of diuers thinges, in all his communication there neuer passed from him one childishe or vaine worde, but either inquired the state of their coũtrie, the maners of the people, the distance of the waies, the power of their King, or the order of his warres, with such other like. So that the Embassadors hauing meruaile thereat, estemed the prowfe of the Father to bee much lesse, then the towardnes of the sonne, & that his courage was much more then was to be loked for in one of his yéeres. As often as tidings came that the King his Father had wonne any strong or riche Towne, or obtained any notable victorie: he neuer seemed greatly ioyfull, but would say to his playfellowes: My Father dooth so many great actes, that hee will leaue no occasion of any notable thing for vs to do togither. Such were his

wordes, such was his talke: whereby it was easie to coniecture what a man hee woulde after prooue in age, which so began in youth. His delight was not sette in anie kinde of pleasure, or grædines of gaine, but in the onely exercise of vertue, and desire of honour. The more authoritie that hee receiued of his Father, the lesse hee would sæme to beare. And although by the great increase of his fathers dominion, it sæmed that he should haue the lesse occasion of warres, yet he did not set his delight in vain pleasure, or heaping vp of treasure, but sought all the means he coulde, to vse martiall feates, and exercises of warre: coueting such a kingdome, wherein for his vertue and prowes, he might purchase fame and immortalitie. That hope neuer deceiued Alexander, nor any other, when it happeneth in a man of vertue and noble heart, that hath wil or occasion to put anie thing in vre. The charge and gouernance of this young Prince was committed to sundrie excellent Maisters and gouernors, but chiefly to the great Philosopher Aristotle, whose vertue, learning, and knowledge, King Philip so much estæmed, that hee would often saye: Hee toke no greater comforte in the birth of his sonne, then that he was prouided of such a maister for him as Aristotle, vnder whose tuition he remained ten yæres. Many thinges there chaunced besides, whereby it was coniectured, that Alexander shoulde prooue a man of great valour. For when his Father sent to Del-

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phos to receiue aunswere of ỹ Gods who should be his successour, the Oracle was giuen: that such a one should not onely succéede him, but also be Lorde of the worlde, whome Bucephalus would suffer to sitte on his backe. This Bucephalus was a passing faire horse, fierce, and full of courage, which Philip had bought of a Thessalian for thirteene talentes, and because of his fiercenes, kept him within a brake of Iron bars, yet for all that he remained so fell and wood, that none durst come nére to dresse him. Whereof the King was so wearie, that he sought meanes to be ridde of the horse. It fortuned that Alexander came one day with his Father vnto the stable. What a horse (quoth he) is marred héere for lacke of good handling, and with that came more neare, and without any great difficultie gat vpõ his backe, and bsing both the spurre and the rod to the vttermost, ranne and mãnaged him so vp and downe, that the horse abode it verie well. And hauing ridden his fill, brought backe the horse againe. As he alighted, the King for ioy imbraced and kissed him, & with teares in his eyes saide: O sonne, seeke some other kingdom méet for the greatnes of thy heart, for Macedon cannot suffise thée. So that euen then the foresée ing Father did full well perceiue all his possessions farre insufficient for his sonnes heart. After this king Philip determined to make warre against all Gréece, for the maintenaunce whereof hee thought it great aduauntage if hee might firste

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winne Byzancium, a famous Cittie on the Sea coast. Wherfore committing the charge and gouernment of his realme to his sonne being then xv. yeeres of age, laide siege to the towne, which made him great resistance. When he had consumed all his riches and treasure about the siege, he was driuen to so narrowe shifte, that to furnish himselfe of money, hee became a Pyrate, and roued on the Sea, where he toke 170. ships the spoile whereof hee departed among his souldiers. And least his whole armie should be deteined about the siege of that one Cittie, hee sorted out the most chosen bands of all his souldiours, and went into Chersonesus, where he toke and put to sacke many notable townes. Because his sonne Alexander was then about 18. yeeres old, and had shewed euident proofe of his vertue and manhode in all his attempts: his Father sente for him thither, to the intente hée might in his warres learne and exercise all feates belonging to a souldiour, and with him made a voiage into Scythia, vpon none other quarrell, but to spoyle the countrey. Thus vsing the practise of Merchauntes, with the gaine of one warre, hee bare out the charges of another. After he had brought the countrey in subiection, because no riches of golde nor siluer was to bee gotten, hee brought from thence xx. M. of men, women, and children, besides a great multitude of cattaile, with xx. M choise mares to make a race in Macedon. In his returne he was encountred with the Triballes,

which denied him passage, except they might haue part of his bootie. Whereupon debating of the matter, from wordes they fell to fighting, whereat King Philip was so wounded in hys thigh, that the violence of the stroke ran through the bodie of his horse, whereof all men iudging him to be slaine, the bootie was thereby lost. As soone as he was recouered of this hurte, his long dissembled grudge against the Athenians brast out so farre forth, that he made open warre vpon them. By reason whereof the Thebans seeing the fire so neare at hande, gaue succour to their neighboures, fearing least if the Athenians were ouercome, the end of the warres shuld turne vpon them. Wherefore the Cities that a little before were mortall enemies one to an other, confederated togither in one league, & sente their Embassadors through all Græce, perswading it to be most meete with a common aide, to withstand a common enemy. Some considering the perill to bee vniuersall, stacke to the Athenians. And some fearing Philips power increasing, and the others decaying, toke parte with him. In this warre Alexander had the charge of of one of the battailes committed to him, wherein his noble hart and courage did well appeare, specially when it came to the stroke of the fight, for there he acquited himselfe so valiauntly, that he seemed not inferiour to his father, nor to anie man els, but by most iust desert got the honor of ỹ victorie. Yet he was defrauded therof by the en-

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tie & sleight of his father, as he himself complained afterwardes. This battaile was fought at Cherony, wherein though the Athenians were the greater number, yet were they ouercome by the Macedons being the fewer, but yet expert souldiours, by reason of their long and continual practise in warres: neuertheless the Athenians as men not vnmindfull of their former honour, spent their liues valiantly. That day made an end of all the Grekes glory, as wel of their large rule and gouernment, as of their most auncient frædome and liberty, which being hardly wõne, and long tyme kept, was thus lost in a moment. For these and many other experimentes of the valour and prowes in yong Alexander, although the king his father did alwayes beare him singular affection and fauour, yet neuertheless by certaine occasiõs ensuing, it was vnhappily broken. For Philip being maried to Olympias, mother of Alexander (as is said before) toke to wife besides her, one Cleopatra, whereupon fell great discord and and vnkindnesse betwene the father and the sonne. The occasion was giuen by one Attalus vncle of Cleopatra, who beyng at the new mariage, exhorted the multitude to make prayers to the goddes to sende betwæne the King and the new Quéene a lawfull heire to succæde in the kingdome of Macedon. Whereat Alexander beyng mooued: Thou naughty villaine (quoth he) doest thou count me a bastard? And with that worde flang the cup at his head.

The King hearing this rose vp, and wyth his swoorde drawne ran at his sonne, who by swarouing with his bodie, auoided the stroke, so that it did no harme. Here-vpon Alexander with many stout and despightfull woords, departed from his father, and went with his mother into Epirus. Neuertheleſſe sone after, by the meanes of one Demoratus a Corinthian, who perswaded the King that this discorde was nothing for his honour, Alexander was sent for againe, and much labour and great meanes was made, before they could be well reconciled. Wherfore to confirme this attonement there was a mariage made betweene Alexander the brother of Olympiades (whome Philip by the expulsion of Arisba had made King of Epirus) and Cleopatra the newe Queenes daughter. The tryumph of that daye was notable, according to the state and magnificence of such two Princes, the one bestowing his daughter, and the other marrying a wife. There were set forth sundrie notable playes, and deuises pleasaunt to beholde. And as King Philip (betweene the two Alexanders, the one his naturall sonne, and the other his son in law) was passing through the prease without anye garde: one Pausanias a young man of the Nobilitie of Macedon, when no man suspected anie such thing, sodainly slewe him starke deade, making that day which was appointed to ioye and triumph, lamentable and dolorous by the death of such a Prince. This Pausanias beeing a boy

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was enforced by Attalus to the vnnaturall vse of his bodie, which not content to do so himselfe, at an other open banket, caused diuers of his familiars to abuse him likewise. Which shame & villanie greeued the young man so sore that hee complained to the King, whome although the dishonestie of the matter moued much, yet for the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the respecte of his seruice, forbare to vse anie reformation in the matter. This Attalus was verie neere vnto the King, and in special fauour, by reason he was kinsman to the Queene Cleopatra, whom Philip had last maried: Hee was also elected generall Capitaine of the Kinges armie, prepared to passe into Asia, as one that was both valiant of his person, and no lesse politique in the feates of warre. Upon these respects the King endeuoured by all the meanes he could, to pacifie Pausanias (being kindled with most iust cause of griefe) as well by giuing him great giftes & promotion as placing him honourably amongst those Gentlemen that were for the gard of his person. But all this could not appease the iuste rage of his ire, which wrought so in him, that he determined to be reuenged, not only vpon Attalus that did the villanie, but also vppon the King that would not minister iustice. Which determination he put in effecte, as is saide before. Manye thinges might be saide more of the dwinges and sayings of this Philip, but one thing aboue other is to bee noted, that although for the more parte

he was occupied in the turmoile of the warres, and other like buſines: yet had he euer ſuch affection to the ſtudies of humanitie and good learning, that he both did, & ſpake, many thinges worthy memory, which were both wittie and pleaſant. He liued ſeuen and fourtie yéeres, and reigned xxv. being the xxiij. king of the Macedones, as they reigned ned in order.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius ſupplyed of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



When Philip was deád, his ſonne which for the greatneſſe of his actes was afterwards called the great Alexander, toke vpon him the kingdome the 426. yéere after the building of Rome, beyng of the age of xx. yéeres. His ſtate ſtode at ỹ tyme ſubiect to much enuy and hatred, and hazard frō all partes. For the nations and prouinces bordering vpon him, could not wel beare their preſent bondage, and euery one of them ſought how to recouer againe their auncient dominion and inheritance. The firſt thing he attempted after he was king, was the grieuous execution vpon ſo many as had conſpired his fathers death: which done, hée celebrated his funerals with great pompe. Concerning his eſtate he ſone eſtabliſhed it, and that much better then any man could haue imagined, in one of ſo young and tender yéeres: for beyng of ſome had in contempt, and of ſome ſuſpected to bée cruell, towardes the one hée bare himſelfe ſo ſtoutely that he toke from them all contempt, and to the other ſo gently, that their imagined feare of his cruell diſpoſition was cleane taken away.

He graunted vnto the Macedons frēedome, and priuiledge, from all exactions and bondage, ſauing from the bondage of warre: by which acte he got ſo great fauour and loue amongſt his people, that all affirmed by one conſent, how the perſon of the King was chaunged, and not his vertue, his name was altered, but not his good gouernment. In the beginning of his raigne, rebellion was made againſt him on all ſides, but he by and by with an incredible ſtoutnes and cōſtancie of minde, ſtaied all their tumultes. That matter pacified and ſet in order, he went to Corinth in Peloponeſe, where calling a generall Councell of all the ſtates of Grēce, was elected their generall Capitaine againſt the Perſians, which before time had afflicted Grece with manie plagues, & at that preſent poſſeſſed the greateſt Empire in the world. His Father had purpoſed that warre before, but the preuention of death was the cauſe he brought not his purpoſe to paſſe. Whiles he was in preparation of this enterpriſe, he was enformed how the Athenians, the Thebans, & the Lacedemonians were reuolted from him, and confederate with the Perſians, and all by meanes of an Oratour called Demoſthenes, which was corrupted by thē with a great ſumme of money. For the reformation wherof Alexander ſo ſodainly had prepared an army, that when he came vpon them, they could ſcarcely beleeue he ſhould be preſent, of whoſe comming they had not heard before. In

his

his way he practised with the Thessalians, and vsed to them such gentle wordes and apte perswasions by putting them in remembraunce of his fathers benefites, and of the auncient kinred betweene them, by their discent from Hercules: that he brought them to the point, by an vniuersall decree of the whole countrey, to bee created their Gouernour. So great was the celeritie that this yong man vsed, and his diligence so effectuall in all his doings, that he made all such feare him, as before were reuolted, and regarded him little. As the Athenians were the first that failed, so they first of all repented, extolling with praises Alexanders childhood, which before they had despised, aboue the vertue of the auncient conquerours. They also sent embassadours to require of him peace, whom, he sore rebuked when they came to his presence, but yet was content at length to remit their offence. And although Demosthenes was chosen one of ỹ embassadours, yet he came not in his sight, but in his way returned againe to Athens. Which his doing was either for feare that he had so often railed against Philip, and stirred the Athenians against him, or els to take away the suspition of himselfe from the king of Persia, of whom (it was sayde) he had receiued a great summe of gold to stand against the Macedons. The same thing was laid against him by Aeschines in an Oration where he saieth: presently the kinges gold doth beare his charges, but that cannot last

him

him long, seeing no riches can suffice his prodigall liuing. When Alexander had pacified those sturres that were begun in Greece, before hee would passe his army into Asia, he made a iourney against the Peones, the Tribals, & Thyllirians, because he vnderstoode they were conspiring togither. And for that they bordered vpon his countrey, and were wont to inuade ỹ same vpõ euery occasion, thought to set stay amongst them, before he would remoue his power so far off. From the citie of Amphipolis therefore he set forwardes against the Thracians, which at that tyme were not vnder the rule or law of any man. In ten dayes he came to the mount of Hemus, in the top whereof he found them encamped, with a power to resist his passage. In stead of trenches they had impaled themselues with their cariages crosse the streightes, purposing there to withstand him. And if they should be inuaded by any other way then by the streightes, they did determine to roule their cariages down the hil vpon the Macedons, to breake their aray. What deuice was put in execution, but the souldiers had receiued before instructions by Alexãder, as occasion should serue either to open their aray, to let the cartes and whéeles passe through them, or els to fall flat vpon the ground, and by couering their bodies with their targets, auoyd the danger. They vsed the matter according to their instructions, and whẽ the cartes were passed by, they with a courage and cry mounted vp

against

againſt their enemies, and in a moment put thē to flight. When Alexander was paſſed ỹ mountaine, he entered into the countrey of the Tribals as farre as the riuer of Ligeus. When Sirmus king of that land vnderſtode of his comming, he ſent his wife and his children with ſuch of his people, as were not meete for the warres, into an Iſlande called Peuca, ſituate within the riuer of Danubie, in which Iland the Thracians bordering with the Triballes were fled alſo. It was not long after that Syrmus himſelfe fledde thither likewiſe: the reſt of the Triballes that were not with the king withdrawing into another Iland, where they kept themſelues againſt Alexander. But he by pollicie found the meanes to drawe them out of their ſtrength, whereby he ſlew of them the number of three thouſand, and the reſt fledde away, ſo that of priſoners there were few taken. After this battaile he marched towardes the riuer of Danubie, to the Iland where the Thracians and the other Tribals were fledde. They made notable reſiſtāce againſt hym, which they might the better doe, by reaſon that Alexander wanted boates to paſſe into ỹ Iland, the bankes wherof were ſo high & ſteepe, that they could not be mounted vpon, but with great difficultie, the Riuer beſides runnyng ſo ſwift by reaſon that the ſtreame was there driuen into a ſtraight. When Alexander perceiued the impoſſibilitie to aſſaile thē, he withdrew to another place, where

gett ng

getting a few boates, passed the riuer in ỹ night, to the number of 1500. horsemen, & 4000. fotemen. With that company he set vpon a people called Getes, that stode ready in battaile on the further side with 4000. horsemen, and ten M. fotemen, of purpose to stop the Macedons passage. But by their sodaine comming ouer, the Getes were so afraid, that they did not abide the first onset. It seemed to them a matter of wonderfull aduenture, for Alexander in one night without a bridge, to passe his power ouer the broadest and deepest riuer of all Europe. This matter strake such feare in them, that they fled into the woodes and desert places, leauing their citie desolate, which was taken by Alexander and ouerthrown. Syrmus king of the Tribals, with the Germaines, and the other inhabitours vpon Danubie, sent embassadours thither vnto Alexander, to enter with him in friendship and amitie. And he condescending to their requests, enquired of the Germaines what thing it was in the world that they doubted most: thinking in deede that the terrour of his name had bene the most fearefullest thing vnto them. But whē they vnderstode his meaning, they answered, that they doubted greatly the falling of the skie. With whose presumptuous answere Alexander was nothing moued, nor further replied, sauing onely that he said: the Germains were a proud people, and therupon dismissed them. As he was going from thence against the Agrians and the

Peans,

Peans, he was aduertised that Clitus Bardeleius had rebelled, and was confederate with Glaucias the king of the Thaulantes, he had also intelligence, that ỳ people of Anteria would giue him battaile in his passage. Wherefore he committed to Lagarus king of the Agrians (which was wel beloued of king Philip, and no lesse in his fauour) the charge to go against the Anterians, and promised him vpon his returne to giue him his sister Cyna in mariage. And Alexander himselfe with great celeritie, went against Clytus and Glaucias, whom in sundry battailes he ouercame, and put to flight. When Alexander was about these thinges, he receiued aduertisement, that diuers cities in Greece, and specially ỳ Thebans, had rebelled, which thing moued him much, and was the cause that he returned with spéede to oppresse that commotion. The Thebans in this meane season besieged the castle of Thebes, wherein was a garison of Macedones, and went about by all meanes to winne it. Alexander came by great iourneis to their rescue, and encamped with his hoste néere to the citie. Such as bare rule amongst ỳ Thebanes, when they sawe him come, contrary to that they looked for, and doubting whither such aide should come to them from other cities as was promised, began to consult how to proceed. At length by a generall consent, they determined to abide the aduenture and extremity of the warre. The king in the meane season stood at a

stay,

stay, giuing them space to be better aduised and change purpose, for he was of opinion, that no one citie would euer haue made resistaunce against so great a power as he had, beyng aboue xxx. thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen, all old souldiers, and expert in the trauels of warre. The trust of their manhode and valiantnes, had caused him to vndertake ỹ warres against the Persians. Truely if the Thebanes had giuen place to fortune, and to the time, and would haue required peace, they might easily haue obtained it, his desire was so great to passe into Asia against the Persians. But ỹ Thebans that were determined to try their force, and not to make any sute, fought against the Macedons, far exceeding them in number, obstinately, and with great manhode. But whiles the battailes were ioyning, the garison of the castle issued out vpon the Thebans backes, whereby being inclosed, they were vanquished, their city taken, spoiled, and vtterly rased. Which extremity Alexander vsed of purpose, because he thought the rest of the Grecians afraid by their example, would be the more quiet, while he should be in ỹ wars of Asia. To gratifie the Phoceans and Plateans his confederates, which brought many accusations against the Thebanes, he slew of them fiue thousand, and sold thirtie thousand as slaues: the money whereof commyng, amounteth to the summe of foure hundred and fortie talentes. Yet he spared all the linage of Pindarus the

Poet,

Poet, whereby he would witnes vnto ỹ world, the fauour he did beare vnto learned men. In this city of Thebes was a notable woman called Timoclea, whom when a captain of Thrace did rauish, and would haue enforced her to confesse her money. She brought him to a Well, where (she said) all her precious geare was hidden. And whiles he stouped downe to loke into the well, she thrust him in, and threw stones after, whereby he was slaine. For this fact she being committed to prison, & afterwardes brought before Alexander: he asked her what she was, she answered without feare, that she was sister to Theogenes, which being elected generall captain against king Philip his father, manfully died for the liberty of Greece. At whose stoutnesse and constancy, the king marueled much, that he caused her with her children to be set at liberty. The Athenians had so great pity & compassion of the estate of the Thebanes, that contrary to ỹ commaundement of Alexander, they receiued into their city such of them as escaped. Which thing Alexander toke in such displeasure, ỹ when they sent embassadours the second time to demaund peace, he would not graunt attonement vpō any other condition, but that such Orators and captains which had stirred them to rebellīō, should be deliuered vnto his handes. But at length the matter was brought to that point that the Orators were releued, and the captaines banished, which straight fledde to Darius king of Persia.

At

At such tyme as Alexander assembled the Grecians in Isthmos for the determination of his iourney into Persia, many Oratours and Philosophers came to visite him, onely Diogenes that remained about Corinthe, kept himselfe away, as one that estéemed Alexander nothing at all. Whereat he marueiled much, and went to visite him, where he was beaking himselfe in the sunne. He asked Diogenes if he had nede of any thing he might doe. To whom Diogenes neither gaue reuerence nor thankes, but willed him to stand out of his sunne shine. In whose behauiour and wordes, Alexander toke so great delite, that turning to those that were with him, sayd: if he were not Alexander, he would wish to be Diogenes. When he had put in order the affaires of Greece, committing ỹ rule thereof together with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernment of Antipater, whom he most trusted, in the beginning of the spring came to Hellespont with his whole army, which he transported into Asia, with incredible spéede and diligence. When they were come to the further shore, Alexander threw a dart to the enimies land, & as he was armed, leaped out of the shippe with great gladnes, and there sacrificed, making petition vnto the goddes, that they would vouch safe to admit him king of that land. From thẽce he marched towardes his enimies, and forbade his souldiours to make any spoile vpon the coũtrey, perswading them to spare that was their owne,

owne, and that they ſhould not deſtroy ỹ thing which they came to poſſeſſe. Ye had not in his army aboue the number of 32.M. fotemen, and v.M. horſemen, and but 180. ſhips: wherefore it is hard to iudge whether it be wonderful that he conquered the world, or that he durſt attẽpt the conqueſt thereof with ſo ſmall a power. Yée choſe not out to ſuch a daungerous enterpriſe, the yong men which were in the firſt flower of their age, but the old ſouldiours, of whome the more part for their long continuaunce in wars, were by the cuſtome at liberty, and frée from the warres, ſauing at their owne pleaſure. And there was no captaine nor any other, that bare office in his army, vnder the age of lx. yéeres. So that the ſouldiours for their experience, ſéemed to be Scholemaſters of the warres, and the captains for their grauity appeared to be Senators in ſome auncient common wealth. That was the cauſe that in the fight none of them minded any flying, but euery one conceiued the victorie in his head, nor any put truſt in his féete, but in his handes. Alexander that euery where made ſacrifice, did vſe moſt ſolemnitie at Troy vpon Achilles tombe, of whom he was diſcended by his mothers ſide. Ye iudged him moſt happy of all men before him, becauſe in ſuch glory he died yong, & had his actes ſet forth of ſuch an one as Homer was. Frõ thence he paſſed forwards into the dominions of Darius king of Perſia, which being the ſonne of Arſanus, & the four-

kẽne king after Cyrus, had gotten the possessi-
on of the Monarchy of the whole East part of
the world. The chiefest cause that moued Alex-
ander to inuade him, was to be reuenged of the
damages & destructions, wherewith his prede-
cessors had afflicted the countrey of Grẽce, and
also for demanding tribute of Philip his father,
for the which he sent a proude & presumptuous
embassage, calling himselfe the king of kinges,
and kinsman of the gods. Lastly, he had written
to Alexander, and called him his seruant, & gaue
commission to his lieutenants, that they should
beat that mad boy the sonne of Philip wᵭ rods,
and afterwardes bring him to his presence in
kings apparell. And furthermore, ꝑ they should
drowne both ship and mariners, and conuey all
the souldiours that should be left on liue beyõd
the red seas. They therefore purposing to exe-
cute the kings commandement, assembled their
power at the riuer of Granike, which doth de-
uide the countrey of Troy from Propontides,
hauing to the number of xr.M. footemen, and as
many horsemen, with whom they had takẽ the
ground on the further side of the riuer, where
Alexander must nedes passe ouer. Wherof whẽ
he was aduertised, though he sawe present peril
in ꝑ enterprise to fight in the water, & the ouse,
from the lower ground, against his enemies,
which had the aduantage of ꝑ higher banke, yet
vpon a singuler trust of his own good fortune, &
the valiantnes of his souldiers attẽpted ꝑ mat-
ter.

ter. At the first he was sore encountred, and put in great hazard of repulse, but at length he vanquished and ouerthrew his enimies. In doing whereof, there neither wanted policie in himself, nor yet singuler manhood in his mē. There was slaine in that battaile of the Persians, rr. M. footmen, with ccl. horsmen, & of the Macedōs but 34. This victory was greatly effectual to Alexanders purpose, for thereby he wan the citie of Sardes, being the chiefe strength the Persians had for the mastering of the seas, vnto the which citie & to all the rest of the cuntrey of Lidia, he gaue liberty to liue vnder their owne lawes. He gote also into his possession the citie of Ephesos, by reason that the fourth day after the battaile, it was abandoned of the garison which Darius set there. In the meane season there came embassadors from Magnesia, & from the Trallians, profering the deliuery of their cities. Parmenio was sent to them with iii. M. footemen, & cc. horsemen with which power hee wan Miletum that stood at defence, & marching from thence toward Helicarnassus, got all the townes thereabouts at the first approch, and afterwards besieged Helicarnassus it selfe, which with great trauaile he wan at length, and rased it to ỳ ground. As Alexander entred into Caria, Ada the Quēne of ỳ countrey which had bene spoiled of all her dominiō by Mzontobates Darius lieutenant (sauing of one strong city called Alinda) met with Alexander, & adopted him for

her sonne and heire. Ye would not refuse the name and the proffer of her liberalitie, but did betake to her againe the custody of her owne citie. And besides for the memory of her beneuolence put the whole countrey of Caria vnder her rule and subiection. From thence hée went into Licia and Pamphilia, to the intent that by getting the possession of the sea coastes of those countries, he might cause the sea power of Darius to stand to none effect. When he had once subdued the people of Pysidia, hée entered into Phrigia, by the which countrey he was enforced to passe, & marched towards Darius, with whom he had great desire to encounter, hearing say that hée was commyng against him with many thousandes of men of warre.

¶THE THIRD BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius supplyed of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.

ALexander in the meane season hauing sent Cleander to wage mē of warre out of Peloponese, and established the countries of Lycia and Pamphilia, remoued his army to the city of Celenas. Through this citie there ran at the same time the riuer of Marcia, very famous in the Greeke poesies: whose head springing out of the top of an high mountaine, and falling downe vpon a rocke beneath, made much noyse and roaring. It floweth from thence, and watereth ỹ fieldes all about, without encrease of any streame sauing his owne. The colour whereof beyng like vnto the calme sea, gaue occasion to the Poets to faine, how the Nimphes for the delight they toke in that riuer, chose their dwellyng vnder that rocke. So long as it runneth within compasse of the walles, it kæpeth his owne name, but whē it commeth without where ỹ streame is more swift and vehement, is then called Lycum. Alexander did enter into this towne, being forsaken of the inhabitants, and perceiuing they were fled into the castle which he determined

to win before he departed, first sent to summon them by an Herauld, which declared that except they would yéeld themselues, they should suffer the extremity of ỳ law of Armes. They brought the Herauld into an high Tower which was strong both by nature & workmanship, willyng him to consider the thing, and to declare vnto Alexander that he waighed not sufficiently the strength of the place, for they said they knew it to be impreniable, and if the worst should fall, yet would they be redy to die in their truth and allegiance. Notwithstanding these words, whē it came to the point, that they sawe themselues besieged, and all things ware scarce, they toke truce for .x. dayes, with this composition, that if they were not rescued by Darius within that time, they would render it vp into his handes. Which they did afterwards at the day appointed, when they saw no succours commyng. To ỳ place there came embassadors to him from Athēs, making request, that such of their city as were taken prisoners at ỳ battel fought vpō the riuer of Granike, might be restored to thē. To whom answer was made, that when the wars of Persia were brought to an end, both theirs & all other that were Grækes, should be restored to their liberty. Alexander had his present care & imagination alwaies vpon Darius, whome he knew not yet to be passed the riuer of Euphrates. He assembled therefore all his power together, purposing to aduenture the hazard of the

battel.

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battel. The countrey was called Phrygia ỳ hée passed thorow, plentiful of villages, but scarce of cities, yet there was one of great antiquitie called Gordium, the roial seat sometime of king Midas. The riner Sangarius doth run thorow it, & it standeth in midway betwéene the seas of Ponte & Cilicia: being iudged to be the narowest part of Asia, by reason of the seas which lye on both sides, representing the forme of an Iland. And if it were not for a small point of lãd, that doth lie betwixt those seas, they shuld ioine both together. Alexander hauing brought this city vnder his obeisance, entred into the temple of Iupiter, where he sawe the wagon wherein Midas the builder of the city was wont to ride. The same in the furniture & outward apperãce differed litle from other common wagons, but there was in it a thing notable: which was a rope folded and knit with many knots, one so wrethed within another, that no mã could perceiue the maner of it, neither where the knots beganne, nor where they ended. Hereuppon the countreymen had a prophesie, that hee should bée lorde of all Asia, that coulde vndoe the endelesse knotte. That was a matter which put the kyng in a marueilous desire to become the fulfiller of the prophesie. There stode a great number aboute hym both of Phrygians & Macedõs, the one part of thẽ musing to what concluſiõ this matter would come to, and the other fearing the rash presumptiõ of

their king, forasmuch as they could perceiue by no reason how that knot ſhould be vndone. The king himſelfe alſo doubting, that the failyng of his purpoſe in the matter, might be taken as a token of his euill fortune to come. After hee had conſidered the thing: What matter maketh it (quoth he) which way it be vndone, and ſtriued no longer how to vnknit it, but out of hand cut with his ſword the cordes aſunder: thereby either illuding, or els fulfilling the effect of ỹ prophecie. When this was done, Alexander purpoſed to finde out Darius whereſoeuer he were, & to the intent he would leaue all thinges cleare behind his backe, made Amphitorus captaine of his nauy vpon the coaſt of Helleſpont, committing the charge of the men of warre to Egilocus. They two had commiſſion to deliuer the Ilands of Leſbos, Scio, and Coos frō the hands of the Perſians. And for the furniture of their charges, appointed to them l. talents. And ſent to Antipater and ſuch other as had the gouernance of the cities of Greece, lx. talents. He gaue order that ſuch as were his confederates, ſhould with their owne power of ſhips defend the ſeas of Helleſpont according to the league betwixt them. It was not yet come to his knowledge how Memnon was dead, vpon whom he ſet his whole regard, knowing if that he moued not againſt him, no man ſhould be his ſtop before he came to Darius, Alexander came to the citie of Ancyre where he made his muſters, and ſo entred

tred into Paphlagonia, whereunto the Grecians be borderers, of whom (it is said) the Venetians be discended. All this countrey yéelded vnto him, and gaue him pledges, obteinyng to bée frée of tribute, séeing they neuer paid any to the Persians. Calas was capitaine there, who taking with him the band of souldiers that were lately come out of Macedon went vnto Capadocia. But Darius hearing of the death of Mẽnon, was no lesse moued therewith, then ẏ case required, for then all other hope set apart, he determined to try the matter in person. For he cõdemned all things that had bene done by his deputies, hauing opinion that good gouernement wanted in many of them, and that fortune had failed in them all. He came therefore to Babylon, where he encamped, assembling al his forces together in sight, because he would shewe the greater courage. And vsing the example of Xerxes, in taking of his musters, entrẽched so much ground about, as was able to receiue ten thousand men, within which he lodged in the night such as had bene mustred in the day, and from thence they were bestowed abroad in the plaine countrey of Mesopotamia. The number of his horsemen and footemen were innumerable, and yet séemed in ẏ sight to be more then they were. There were of the Persians, one C. thousand, of whom xxx. thousand were horsemen. Of the Medians, x. thousand horsmen, and xxx. thousãd footemen. Of the Barcanites two M. horsemen

with

with broad swordes, and light bucklers, and ten M. footmen with like weapons. There were of the Armenians xl. M. footmen, and vij. M. horsemen. The Hircanians of great estimation amongst those nations had vi. thousand horsmen. The Derbicens were xl. thousand footemen armed with pykes, whereof parte had no heads of Iron, but dried the points of them in the fire. There were also of the same nation vj. M horsemen. There came from the Caspian sea viij. M. footmen, and cc. horsemen, and with them of the rude nations of Asia, vj. M. footemen, and iiij. M. horsemen. To the increase of these numbers there were xxx. M. mercenary souldiers ỹ were Grækes. Haste woulde not suffer to call for the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Indians, with other ỹ inhabiters of the red sea: nations which had names scarcely knowne to their owne king. Thus Darius wanting nothing lesse then the multitude of men, greatly reioised to beholde thē. And puffed vp with the vanitie and flatterie of the great men, which were about him, turned to Charidemus of Athens, an expert man of war, (which for the displeasure that Alexander did beare him, was banished the cuntrey) and asked him if he thought not that companye sufficient to ouerthrowe the Macedons. Wherunto Charidemus without respect of the kinges pride, or his owne estate, answered: peradventure Sir, (quoth he) yee will not bee content to heare the truth, and except I tell it presently, it shall be too

late

late hereafter. This great preparatiõ and huge armie of yours, gathered of the multitude of so many nations, raised vp from all partes of the Orient, is more fearefull to the inhabiters hereabouts, then terrible to your enemies. Your mẽ shine in colours, and glister in armour of golde: exceeding so much in riches, that they which haue not seene them with their eies, cannot conceiue any such thing in their minds. But contrariwise ỹ Macedons being rough souldiers, without any such excesse be terrible to beholde. The fronts of their battails stande close togither alwaies in strength, furnished with pikes and targets for defence. That which they cal their Phalanx, is an immouable square of footmen, wherin euerie one stand close to other, ioyning weapon to weapon. Euerie souldier is obedient to that which is commaunded him, ready at his Capitaines becke, whether it bee to followe his ensigne, to kæp his aray, to stand still, to run, to fetch a compasse, to chaunge ỹ order of the battaile, to fight on this side or that side, euerie souldier can do these things so well as the capitains. And because you shal not thinke gold & siluer to be so effectuall to this matter, they began & obserued this discipline, pouerty beeing maister. When they be wery ỹ ground is their bed, they are satisfied wỏ such meat as they find by chãce, & they measure not their slæp by ỹ length of the night. Think you ỹ horsmẽ of Thessaly, ỹ Acharnans & Etolians (inuincible men of war) wil be repulsed

repulsed with slings or staues hardened in the fire. It behoueth you to haue a like force to repulse them, and to be serued of the same kind of men. My counsel is therefore that you send this gold and siluer to wage souldiours out of those countries from whēce they come. Darius was a man of a meeke and tractable disposition, if ỹ heigth of his estate had not altered the gōdnes of his nature, which made him so vnpatient to heare the truth, that he commaunded Charidemus to be put straightwayes to death: beeyng a man that was fled to his protection, & that gaue him right profitable counsel. When he was going towards his death, he left not his liberty to speake, but said: there is one at hand that shall reuēge my death. For he against whom I haue giuen the counsaile, shall punish thee for not following of mine aduice. And thou being thus altered with the liberty thou hast, beyng a King, shalt be an example to such as shall come after, that when men commit their doings to fortune, they clerely forget thēselues. Whiles Charidemus was speaking these words, they which had ỹ charge cōmitted vnto thē, put him to death, whereof afterwardes the King take ouer late repentaunce, confessing hym to haue spoken the trueth, and caused hym to be buried. There was one Thymones the sonne of Mentor, a young man of great actiuitie, to whome Darius gaue the charge of all the souldiours straungers (in whom he had great confidence)

willyng

willing him to receiue them at Pharnabasus handes, and gaue to Pharnabasus the rule that Memnon had before. Thus Darius beeing carefull of the businesse he had in hande, whether it were through pensiuenes of minde, or that his fancie did diuine things to come, was cõtinually troubled wᵗ visiõs in his slæpe. He dreamed ẏ the Macedons campe was all on fire. And shortly after it semed to him that Alexander was brought to his presence in such kinde of apparell as hee himselfe did weare when hee was first chosen king, and that Alexander should bee carried on horsebacke through Babylon, and so vanishe out of sight. Here-vpon the interpretours of dreams with the diuersitie of their diuining, did dryue Darius into diuers imaginations. Some sayde his dreame betokened good fortune to himselfe, because of the fire that sæmed to bee in his enemies campe, and for that Alexander without anie vesture of a king, appeared in the vulgar apparell of the Persians. Other did interprete it otherwise: that the lightening in the Macedõs campe, signified glory and victorie to Alexander, & also the entoying of the Empire of Asia, which they made a cleare matter, for as much as Alexander appeared in the same vestures that Darius ware when he was chosen king. Care besides and trouble of mind (as it often chanceth) brought things past againe to remembrance. It was rehearsed howe Darius in the beginning of his reigne chaunged the scabard of his sworde

from

from the Persian maner, into the fashion that the Greekes vse. Where-vpon the Chaldeis did prognosticate, that ỹ kingdome of Persia should bee translated to those, whose fashion hee had counterfeited. Notwithstanding through the confidence of such prophesies as were commonlie sowen abroade, and of the vision that he seemed to haue seene in his sleepe, became verie merrie, and commaunded his army to march forwards to the riuer of Euphrates. It was the auncient custome amongst the Persians, at the sunne rising to raise their campe, and warning of their setting forwards to be giuen by the sounding of a trumpet, sounded at the kings pauilion, vpon the which there stood an Image of the sunne enclosed in christal, shining so bright, that it might be seen throughout the camp. The order of their marching was in this manner. The fire which they call holy and eternall, was carried before vpon siluer aulters, and the priests of their lawe went nexte singing after their countrey maner. There followed CCC. lx. young men in scarlet robes, like in number vnto the daies of the yere. Then came the Chariot consecrated to Iupiter drawne with white palfreyes, a greate horse following which they cal the horse of the sunne. Such as did ride vpon the palfreyes did weare white garmentes, bearing roddes of golde in their handes. Next in order came ten Chariots, garnished and wrought with siluer and golde. The horsemen of twelue nations followed next

in

in sundrie sort of armour. Then came a companie that the Persians call immortall, the riches of whose apparell, exceeded farre the rest: they had all chaines of gold, coates embrodered with golde, and sleeues sette with pearle. There followed within a smal distance a band of .v.M. called Doryphery, reputed for the kinges kinsmen, which were disguised in manner like Women, more notable for their galauntnes and varietie of apparell, then for the armour they did weare. Such as were wont to receiue the kings robes, did ride next before the chariot, vppon the which Darius did sitte on high, with great pompe and magnificence: his chariot beeing garnished on both sides with carued Images of their Goddes made of siluer and golde. The steame whereof was set with pearls & pretious stones, with .v. Images of golde standing there-vpon of a cubite length, combattaunt one against the other, and ouer their heades an Eagle of golde displayed. But amongst all the reste, the kinges apparaile shewed marueilous sumptuous, which was of purple empaled white, with a border embrodered of gold, Faulcons fighting togither. He was girte effeminately with a girdle of golde, and the sworde that hang there-vpon, had the scabarde made of a pearle. The diademe the king ware vppon his head, called of the Persians Cydarys, had a roule about it of white & greene. Nert behind the king came .v.M. horsmen, which hed all their speares plated with siluer, and their speare

heades

heades gilded. Yee was enclosed on both sides with CC. of the bloud royall, at whose backes there followed xxx. M. fotemen, and after them CCCC. of the kings coursers.

Within the distance of one furlong Sisigambis the mother of Darius was caried in a Wagon, and his wife in an other: the train of their women riding on horseback. Next them xv. wagons, wherein the kings children were carried, their Nurses and Eunuches, which are greatlie estæmed in that cuntrey. And after them followed CCC xl. of the kings concubines, all apparelled like Quæenes. Then came vi. C. Mules, & CCC. Camelles, that caried the kings treasure garded with a band of Archers. The wiues of the kinges kinsmen, & the other that were about the king, came riding next, & after them a greate companie of slaues and varlets. Last came the rereward lightly armed, whereof euerie Capitaine seuerally with his owne companie closed in the armie, such was the order of Darius host. But on the other side beholding Alexanders armie, there was to bee sæne a great difference. Neither the men nor the horse glistered so with golde, nor pretious ornamentes, but onely with the brightnesse of their harnesse. But they were obedient at their Capitaines becke, alwaies in a readinesse to stay or to passe forwardes, neyther combred with ouer great multitude, nor pestred with too much baggage. They wanted not in anie place either ground for their encamping, or victu-

victualles for their feeding, whereby their small number was always sufficient when thei came to fight: Whereas Darius the Lord of so huge a multitude, through the streightnes of ỹ groũd wherein he was driuen to giue battaile, coulde worke but the effect of a small number, bẽing the thing which hee before had despised in his enimie. Alexander appointed to Abistamines the rule of Cappadocia, and marching with his armie towardes Cicilia, came to the place called Cyrus Campe, because Cyrus lodged there, when he passed into Licia against king Crœsus. This place was distant about 50. furlonges frõ the straight, entering into Cilicia. The country men vse to call those streightes Pylae whereas the naturall situation of the place had made a fortification, as it were with mans hands. Whẽ Arsanes gouernour of Cilicia vnderstode of Alexanders comming, remembring what opinion Memnon was of in the beginning of the warres put in execution his wise counsell, when it was too late, wasting and destroying throughout Cilicia, all such things as he thought might stande his enemie in stead, leauing the countrey wast, which he thought hee was not able to defende: where as it had bẽne much better to haue taken the streight before his enemies, where from the hilles lying ouer the waye, he might without hazarde, eyther haue letted his entrie, or els haue distressed him in his passing. But he leauing a small number for the defence ofỹ streight

retired himselfe backe to waste the Countrey, which his parte had bene to defende from destruction. By his departure it came to passe, that such as hee lefte behinde, thinking themselues betrayed, woulde not so much as abyde the sighte of their enemies, when a much lesse number had bene sufficient to haue kepte the passage. For the situation of Cilicia is suche, that it is enuironed rounde about with a continuall rough and steape mountayne, which rising from the Sea on the one side, and fetching a compasse about, ioyneth againe with the Sea on the other side. Through the parte of ỹ mountaine which lyeth furthest from the Sea, there bee three narrowe and rough passages, by one of the which they must enter, that will passe in to Cilicia. The Countrey towardes the Sea, is plaine and full of Ryuers, amongst the which twoo bee notable, Pyramus and Cydnus, but Cydnus most speciall, not so much for the greatnes, as for the clearenes of his water, which from his first spring runneth pleasantly through all the Countrey, and hath no other Ryuer running into him to disturbe the pureneſſe of hys streame. For which cause it remaineth alwayes cleare, and also colde, by reason of the woodes that doe shadowe all the bankes. Time hath consumed manie antiquities within that countrey, which be remembred of the Poets.

There may yet bee seene the foundations of the Citties of Lirnessus and Cebestus, with the

caue

caue and wood of Coricius, where Saffron groweth, with manie other thinges, whereof nothing remaineth sauing onely the fame. When Alexander entred the streightes before mentioned, & beheld the situation of them, he neuer in al his life marueiled more of his own felicitie and good fortune: confessing that it had not been possible for him to haue passed, if anye had stande at defence against him: for that with stones onely he might haue bene distressed, the streight besides beeing so narrowe, that there coulde not passe aboue foure in a front. To the increase of which difficultie, the toppes of the mountaines hung ouer the wayes, which in manie places were broken and made hollowe, with the streames that ranne downe from the hilles. Alexander sent the Thracians that were light armed, to store and discouer the wayes, for feare the enemies should lye there in bushmen, and sodainly breake forth vpon him. He appoynted also a band of archers to take the top of the hill, which were willed so to march, that they might bee alwayes in a readines to fight. After this manner he came with his armie to the Citie of Tarson, which was sette on fire by the Persians, because that Alexander should finde no harborow there. But Parmenio was sent thither with a choyse number of horsemen to quench the fire. Who vnderstanding that the enemies were fledde awaye through his commyng, entered into the Cittie, and by that meanes saued it from

burning. The Ryuer of Cydnus spoken of before, did run through this Citie, where the king arriued about middaye, it beeing in the sommer season, what time the heate is no where more feruent then in that countrey. He tooke such delight in the pleasauntnes of the water, that hee would needes bathe his bodie, to wash away the swette and dust he had caught. And beeing in a heate entered naked into the the water in euery mans sight, thinking it should bee a contentation to his souldiers, to see that the ornaments about his bodie were none other but such as they commonly vsed to weare. He was not so son entred, but all the parts of his bodie began to shake and tremble, his face wared pale, and the liuelie heate was mortified in all partes of his bodie. His seruantes toke him vp. and carryed him into his tent, as one, besides himselfe, and at the extreme point of death. Then there was a greate desolation and heauines in the Campe, they wepte, lamented, and bewailed, that such a king so noble a Capitaine as had not beene seene in anie age, should thus bee taken from them in the chiefe of his enterprise, and brunt of all his busines, and that after such a maner, not in battaile slaine by his enemies, but thus caste away bathing in a riuer. It greeued them that Darius nowe beeing at hande shoulde obteyne the victorie by such a chaunce, without seeing of his enemie, and that they should bee enforced to returne backe againe as men vanquished by those countreyes,

treyes, through the which they had passed before as victorers. In which countreys all things beeing destroied by themselues or by their enemies it was of necessitie for them to die for hunger, though no man should pursue them. It became a question amongst themselues, who should bee their Capitaine in their fleyng away: or what hee were that durst succæde Alexander? And though they mighte safely arriue at the Sea of Yelespont, yet who should prepare them passage there. When they had disputed these questions, their argument by and by was turned into compassion towardes their Prince, lamenting as men out of their wittes, that such a flower of youth, such a force of courage as was in him, that the same their kyng and companyon in armes, shoulde after this sorte bee taken from them. In the meane season Alexander beganne to fetche hys wynde some-what better, and when hee came vnto himselfe, hee lyfted vp hys eyes, and beganne to knowe his frendes that were about him. That the vehemence of hys sickneſſe somewhat asswaged, was perceiued in that he beganne to vnderstande the perill hee was in. But the pensiuenes of his minde was great hinderaunce vnto his health, for tidinges came that Darius within fiue dayes would bee in Cilicia, which was the chiefe thinge that made him to sorrow and lament. Yee coulde not take it but greeuouslie, that such a victorie shoulde bee plucked out of his handes through

his infirmitie. And that hée shoulde bée taken as one tyed in fetters, and be put to some shamefull and vile death. He called therefore to him both his frendes and Physitions and sayd vnto them: Ye sée in what state of my busines fortune hath taken mée. Mée thinke the noyse of mine enenemies doe ringe in mine eares, and I whiche moued firste the warre, am nowe challenged and prouoked to the fight. When Darius did write to mée such proude letters, he was not ignorannt of mine estate. Yet peraduenture hee shall be receiued, if I may vse mine owne minde in recouery of mine owne health. My case requireth no slacke medicinies, nor slowe Physitions: I had rather dy stoutly at once, then to consume long time in my recouerie. Wherefore if there be anie hope or cunning in phisick, let it be shewed. And thinke that I séeke not remedie so much for mine owne life, as I doe for the care I haue to encounter with mine enemies. When they heard him speake these wordes, they were in great doubt of his sodaine rashnes, and therefore euerie one required him aparte, that hee would not increase his perill through anie hast, but suffer himselfe to be ordred by the aduyse of his Physitions. For they alleadged that vnproued remedies were not suspected of them without cause, séeing his enemie had gone about to corrupt such as were about him, by promising a M. tallentes to his killer, which cause alleadged, they thought no man would be so bolde to

make

make any erperience of phisick vpon him, which for the want of triall thereof, might in any wise giue cause of suspition. There was amongest the excellent phisitions that came with Alexander out of Macedon, one Philip of Acarnon, which was preferred to him for the preseruatiõ of his heath, and had faithfully serued him from his childhood, and therfore loued him with entire affection. He promised to prouide for the king an approued medicine, but such a one as woulde worke vehemently: but by the drinking thereof, he doubted not (he saide) but to expulse the force of his disease. That promise pleased no man but onely him which in the proofe thereof shoulde abide the perill. For he could endure all thinges better then delay. Darius and his power were allwaies in his eie, & he had an assured confidẽce ỹ the victorie should fall on his side, if he mighte be able but to stand in the sight of his men. The thing that onely grieued him was, that ỹ Phisition would not minister before the third day. In the meane season Parmenio, whome of all his nobilitie he trusted moste, had exhorted him by his letter, that he should not cõmit himselfe to ỹ cure of Philip, for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand talents, and the promise of his sister in marriage. Those letters brought the king in great care and doubte, and moued him to weigh and ponder secretly with himselfe, all those thinges, that eyther feare or hope coulde put in his heade. Shall I aduenture (thought

he) to drinke this medicine? What if it be poyson? shall I not then bee accounted the cause of mine owne death? shall I suspect the fidelitie of my Phisition? or shall I suffer mine enemye to kill me in my bed? yet were it better for mee to perish by other mens treason, then thus to die through mine owne faint heart. His minde being thus diuerslie wrought, hee woulde shewe the contentes of the letter to no man, but sealed it with his owne ring, and laide it vnderneath his pillowe. Two dayes were passed in these imaginations, and the third daye the Phisition came to his beddes side with the medicine readie made. When the King sawe him, hee rayled vp himselfe vpon his elbowe, and taking the letter in his lefte hand, with the other hand toke the cuppe, and straigh, supped it of. When he had so done, hée deliuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whileſt he was reading, hee beheldе him continually in the face, supposing that if hée had béene faultie, some token would haue appeared in his countenance. When Philip had read the letter, hee shewed more tokens of displeasauntnes then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vpon his knées, and saide: Sir, I sée my life doth depende vppon your health, but your recouerie shal declare that I am falsly charged with this treason: therefore when by my meanes you shall get your health, I truste you will not then denie me my life. In the meane season lay feare aside, and suffer the medicine to

worke,

woꝛke and to haue his operation. Kéepe your mynd quiet, and ſuffer not your ſelfe to be troubled with the ſuperſtitious carefulneſſe of your friends, which though it pꝛocéedeth of gꝏd will, is notwithſtanding much impediment vnto your health. His woꝛdes not onely ſatiſfied the king, but made him to conceiue perfite hope of his recouery, and ſayd vnto Philip: If ẏ gods would haue graunted thée to deuiſe a meane to pꝛoue the confidence I haue in thée, and the gꝏd wil I beare thée, thou couldſt not haue choſen any ſo gꝏd as this is: foꝛ notwithſtandyng the letter, I dꝛanke of the medicine, beléeuyng thée to be no leſſe carefull foꝛ declarations of thine owne trueth, then foꝛ my health, & therewith gaue him his hand. Yet afterwards when the medicine began to woꝛke, it was ſuch in operations, that it ſéemed to verifie Parmenio his accuſement: foꝛ he fainted oft, & had much labour to dꝛawe his bꝛeath. Then Philip left nothing vnpꝛoued oꝛ vndone that might ſerue foꝛ his purpoſe. He laied warme clothes to his body, and alwayes as he fainted, reuiued hym againe with the ſauour of one thing and other. And when he pereeiued him once to come to himſelfe, he ceaſed not to fæde him with talke, and one while put him in remembꝛance of his mother and his ſiſters, and another while of the great victoꝛy that was at hand. When ẏ power of the medicine was once entred into his veines there appeared ſtreight in all partes of his body

manifeſt

manifest tokens of healch. First quicknes came to the spirits, and after the body recouered his strength, a great deale sooner then any man lo-ked, For the third day after he had bene in this case he walked in the sight of the souldiours, which wonderfully reioiced to see him. And they shewed no lesse affection vnto Philip, whom e-uery one seuerally embraced and gaue him thankes, as if he had bëene a God. It can not be expressed besides that naturall veneration that Macedones vse to beare vnto their prince, in what reuerence they especially had Alexan-der, and how feruently they loued him. They had conceyued of him an opinion that he could enterprise nothyng but that it was furthered by God, and fortune was so fauourable vnto hym, that his rashnesse was alwayes an in-crease of his glory. His age besides scarcely ripe and yet sufficient for so great thinges, did mar-ueilously set forth all hys doyngs. And thinges which out of the warres should bee counted lightnesse, are wont to be most acceptable to the souldiours, as the exercising of his body a-mongst them, his apparell not differing from ỹ commõ sort, with his courage and forwardnes in the field, which giftes giuen him of nature, and thinges besides done of policie, did get hym both loue and reuerence of his people. When Darius heard of Alexanders sicknes, hée mar-ched towardes the riuer of Euphrates with all the hast he could make, in conueying of so com-

brous an army. He made there a bridge, and in fyue dayes passed ouer, his people hauing great desire to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that tyme Alexander had recouered his strength, and was come to a city called Solos, which the inhabitants yelded vnto him, and for two hundred talents obteined assurance. Notwithstanding he put a garison in the castle, and there celebrated playes and triumphes which hee had vowed to Aesculapius and Minerua, for the recouery of his health: where being giuen so quietly to his pastime, shewed how little he estéemed the comming of his enemies. Whiles Alexander was busied about these thinges, he receiued pleasaunt newes how his men had won a battail of the Persians at Halicarnassus, and that the Mindians and Cawnians with diuers other nations in those partes were brought vnder his obedience. This triumph once ended, he remoued, and by a bridge made ouer the riuer of Pyramus, he came to the city of Malon, and from thence with another remoue, came to a Towne called Castabulon. There Parmenio returned to the king, which had béene sent to search the streightes that lay betwéene them and the Citie of Isson. Hée had preuented the Persians at the passage, and so leauyng men for the defence thereof, toke the Citie of Isson that was lefte desolate. Hee departed from thence, and did driue the Persians out of the mountains, searching and clearing al ỹ wayes.

So that hauing made all things sure for the army to passe, he returned againe both the author of the acte, and reporter of the thing done. Alexander encamped within the citie, and there debated in counsaile, whether it were better to passe on further, or els to tary ther, for a greater power which was commyng to him out of Macedon. Parmenio was of opiniõ that this place was most méetest to abide Darius in, and giue him battaile, where both the armies should bée of like force by reason of the streights, wherein no great multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschew ỹ plaines, wherein their enemies should haue great aduãtage through their great number that myght enclose them about. Wherein (he sayd) he doubted not his enemies stoutnes, but onely feared that their owne men might be ouercome with wearines, where a multitude should fight with a fewe, and fresh men succæde in the place of al them that fainted. This counsaile was receiued for good, and Alexander determined in the same place to abide his enimies. There was in ỹ host of the Macedons one Sysenes a Persian, sent before-tyme from the gouernour of Egypt vnto king Philip: who being aduanced with reward and promotions, chose to liue out of hys owne countrey, and so folowing Alexander into Asia, was estéemed amongst those that the king trusted well. A souldiour of Crete deliuered him a letter from Nabarzanes Darius lieutenaunt.

Wherein

wherein he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby he might winne fauour & reputation with Darius. Sisenes innocent of this matter, was about diuers times to present the letter to the king, but seeyng him occupied with weighty affaires of prouision for the battaile, prolonged the matter And whiles he waited for a more conuenient tyme, he brought himselfe in suspition of treason. For the letter was brought to the kings hands before it was deliuered vnto him: who reading it, did seale the same with a straunge seale, and caused it to be deliuered to Sisenes, to prowe thereby his fidelitie. But because he concealed the thing many dayes, and opened not the matter to the king, it semed that he consented thereunto: And therefore by the kings commaundemēt he was put to death by the band of the Cretensians. The Greeke souldiours which Thimodes had receiued of Pharnabasus (being those that Darius trusted most) were come vnto him. They perswaded much Darius to retire backe into the plaines of Mesopotamia, and if he would not do so, that at the least he should deuide his power, and not commit the whole force of his estate to one stroke of fortune. This counsaile was not so displeasant vnto the king, as it was to such that were about him. For they said, mercenary souldiers were alwaies full of treason, and were to bee doubted the more for that they counsailed the army to be deuided, which was for no other purpose,

purpoſe, but onely that they might haue commoditie to flie vnto Alexander, whē they ſhould haue any charge committed vnto thē. There is nothing therefore more ſure for vs (quoth they) then to encloſe them round about with our army, and to cut them in péeces, for an example to the world, that treaſon ſhould neuer bée left vnreuenged. But Darius which was of a méek and good diſpoſition, refuſed to commit ſo cruel an acte, in ſlaying ſuch as had betaken themſelues to his truſt. For if we ſhould foile our handes (quoth hee) with their bloude, what ſtrange nation would euer then commit themſelues into our handes? alleadging that there ought no man to loſe his life for giuing foliſhe counſaile. For who would be bold to giue counſaile, if in counſailing there ſhould be any peril? I call you (quoth he) to counſaile daily, and heare the diuerſitie of your opinions, and yet miſtruſt not them that giue me not alwayes the beſt counſaile. He cauſed the Grékes to be anſwered, that he gaue him thankes for their good will. But in returning backe (he ſayd) hée ſhould giue vp his countrey into hys enemies handes, which were not conuenient. And conſidering the force, the fame is of, in the warre, in goyng back he ſhould appeare to flie. But to deferre the fight, he thought it worſt of all, ſeing ſo great an army as he had (the winter thē approching) could not be vitailed in a deſolate countrey, that had bēen waſted both by themſelues &

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by their enemies. And for the deuiding of his power he shewed that he could not do it, obseruing the customes of his predecessours, which were not wont to hazard the battaile, but with whole power. He declared that Alexãder before his comming seemed terrible to the world, and through his absence was brought in a vain presumptiõ. But after he saw him come forwards, became wary & wel aduised, hiding him in the streights of the mountains, like those cowardly beasts, which hearing the noise of commers by, do hide themselues in the dennes of the woodes. He hath blinded his souldiours (quoth he) with his counterfeit sicknes, but now I will not suffer him to prolong the fight any longer, which if he wil refuse, I wil oppresse him in his lurking hole. These words he spake with greater vaunt then trueth, & sent his treasure and iewels with a small conuoy to Damasco in Syria, & entered with his army into Cilicia, bringing with hym according to his countrey maner, both his mother, his wife, his little sonne, and hys daughters. It chanced the same night that Alexander was come to the streight entering into Syria, Darius came vnto the place which they call Pilæ Amenicæ: the Persians not doubtyng at all, but that the Macedons would haue forsaken the citie of Isson, & fled away for feare. For certaine of them that were weake and could not folow the army were taken, ỹ which Darius through instigation of the great men about him,

him, raging in barbarous crueltie, cauſed their hands to be cut off, and to be led about his cãpe, to the entent they might behold the multitude of his men, whom after ſufficient view taken, he let them goe to ſhew Alexander what they had ſéene. Darius remoued and paſſed the riuer of Pyramus, purpoſing to purſue after the Macedõs, which he thought had bene flying away. They which had their hands cut off, came running in amongſt the Macedons, declaryng that Darius was cõming in great haſt. There was ſcarcely any credite giuen to their wordes, but to be ſure Alexander ſent ſpies toward the Sea coaſt, to know whither Darius were there in perſon, or els had ſent ſome other to make a ſhew of a power. The ſpies returning, did report that his whole army was at hand, and ſtraightwayes the fires might be ſéene, which gaue ſuch a ſhew (by reaſon they lay ſtragling ſo far abroad to get forage) as though ŷ whole countrey had bene on fire. When Alexãder was aſcertained of the trueth, he encamped in the ſame place where the tidings came vnto hym, being marueilous glad becauſe he knew hé ſhould fight, ſpecially in the ſtreights, being the thing that he had alwayes deſired. But as it is commonly ſéene, when danger and extremity is at hand, confidence is conuerted into feare. So he doubted not without great cauſe, that fortune might change vpon him, by whoſe fauour he had done ſo great actes, and conſidered her

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mutabilitie by such thinges, as she had taken from other, and giuē to him. He saw there was no prorogation of the time, but that after one night passed, the victory should be determined. Yet on the other side, he called vnto remēbrance how the reward ensuing of the victory, farre exceeded the aduenture. For as the chaunce was doubtfull, so being discomfited, he was certayne to die with honour and perpetual praise. When he had wayed these thinges, he gaue order that the souldiours should refresh themselues, and at the third watch to be armed in a readinesse to set forwards. He himselfe went vp into the top of a mountaine with many torches and lightes about him, where he made sacrifice vnto ỹ gods after his countrey maner. And when the houre was come appointed vnto the souldiers, at the third sound of the trumpet, they were in a readines both to march and fight. Then exhortation was giuen vnto them to passe on with bold courage, and so by the spring of the day they were come to the streightes, wherein their purpose was to preuent Darius. By that time such as were sent before to scoure the country, came in, and reported that the Persians were within thirtie furlonges. Then the battayles were stayed and set in such order as they should fight. Like as Alexander was enfourmed of Darius, so he was aduertised of Alexander by the peasauntes of the countrey, which came fearefully runnyng vnto him, declaring that Alexan-

der was at hande. These wordes were not beléeued: for they coulde not thinke them to bee communyng, whome they thought before to bee fledde. But when they perceiued that it was so in déede, because they were in better order to pursue their enemies then to encounter with them in battaile, they were striken with a marueilous sodaine feare. Euery man toke him to his armour in haste. Which haste, and the callyng that one made vpon an other, dyd put a great feare amongest them. Some ranne vp to the toppes of the hil'es to view the Macedones, other fell to bridelyng their horses. So that the hoste full of diuersitie, and not ruled by any certayne gouernement, with their hurley burley, put all thinges out of order. Darius at the first had appoynted one part of his power to take the mountaine, which settyng vpon his enemies backes, might enclose them both behynd and before: and assigned an other company to passe along the sea side, which was on the right hande, to kéepe his enemies doyng on euery part. Hee gaue order also that twentie thousand fotemen with a band of Archers should passe the Riuer of Pyramus, and giue an onset that way. But if they founde any impediment why they might not doe so, then hee willed them to retire amongest the mountaynes, and inuade their enemies on their backes. But fortune which was of greater force then any pollicie, determined those thinges that

were

were well deuised, accordyng as thée thought good. For some durst not for feare execute the thing that was commaunded them, and then the rest worked in vayne, for where the members fayle, the whole body is confounded. The order of Darius armie stode thus aranged to fight: his power beyng deuided into two battailes: one marchyng on the lefte hand, and the other on the right. Mabarzanes empaled the battail on the right hand with a great power of horsemen, and xxx. thousand Slingers and Archers. Thimones was also in the battaile with xxx. thousand mercenarie Greekes, beyng in very déede Darius chiefest force, a power equall vnto Phalanx of the Macedones. In the battaile on the lefte hand, Aristomenes was in the forefronte with thirtie thousande fotemen, hauyng planted for his succours and relefe, such nations as were counted most valiaunt. There were about the kyng beyng also in the battayle, thrée thousand choise horsemenne, that were of the ordinarie garde of hys personne, and fourtie thousand fotemen, with the horsemen of Hircanie, and Media, and the horsemenne of other nations that were wynges on both sides. And besides these numbers there went before his battayle in a forlorne hope, fyre thousande Slingers and casters of dartes. All the playne grounde betweene the streightes, was filled with men of warre, and Darius battayle stode araunged

from the mountaine downe to the ſea ſide. The mother and wyfe of Darius with all the flocks of women, were receyued in the middeſt of the battaile, Alexander on the other ſide ſet hys ſquare battaile of fotemen called Phalanx (beyng the Macedones chiefeſt force) in the forefront. Nicanor the ſonne of Parmenio was capitaine of the battaile on the right hand, and with him Cenos and Perdicas, Meleager, Ptolomeus, and Amintas were ioyned euery one with his owne band. Parmenio and Caterus had the rule of the battaile on the left hande, which ſtretched towards the Sea, but Parmenio had the chiefe charge. Horſemen were ſet in winges to both thoſe battailes. The Macedon men, and Theſſalian horſemen beyng appointed to the right hand battaile, and the horſemen of Peloponeſe to the battaile on the other ſide, before which battaile, there were alſo ſet ſingers with archers amongſt them, & the Cretenſians that were lightly armed, went before the maine battaile. The band of Agrians that were lately come out of Græce, were aſſigned to encounter thoſe that Darius had ſent to take the top of the mountaine. He willed Parmenio, that as much as he might, he ſhould ſtretch out his band towards the Sea, to withdrawe ſo far as he could from the hilles which the enemies had taken: But ſuch as had direction by Darius to take the hils, neither durſt reſiſt ſuch as came againſt them, nor yet compaſſe about ſuch

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as were passed by them, but fled away at the first sight of the Slingers. Which thing chaunced wel for Alexander, for it was the thyng that he doubted most, that they from the hygher ground should inuade the open side of his battaile, which lay vnflancked towards them. The Macedones marched xxxy. in a ranke, for the straightnes of the ground would not suffer thē to goe any broader, but by litle and litle as the plaine betweene the mountaines began to enlarge, so they had libertie both to make their battailes broader, and also for the horsemen to march vpon the sides. When both the battels were come within sight togethers, the Persiās first gaue a terrible and rude shout, which was againe doubled of the Macedons, not with their number, which were farre inferiour vnto the Persians, but with the rebound of the hils and the rocks, which doubled euery voyce of theirs. Alexander did ride vp and downe before the frontes of his battailes, making a signe to his souldiours with his hand, that they should not make ouer much haste to ioyne with their enemies, for bringing themselues out of breath. And as he passed by, he vsed to euery nation sundry exhortations, as he thought mete for their dispositions and qualitie. He put the Macedons in remembraunce of their olde prowesse and manhode, with the number of battailes that they had wonne in Europe, how that they were come thither as well by their owne

desires as by his conduct, to subdue Asia and the vttermost boundes of the Orient. He shewed them to be the people that were ordained to conquere the worlde, and to passe the boundes both of Hercules and Bacchus. He declared that both Bactria and Inde should be theirs, in respect of which the countreys that they had sene were but trifles, and yet were to be gotten all with one victory: wherein (he sayde) their trauayle should not be in vayne, as it was in the barreine rockes of Illyria, or in ỳ mountaynes of Thrace, but that in this conquest the spoyle of the whole Orient was offered vnto them. For the gettyng whereof, they should scarcely neede to occupy their swordes, since the battailes of their enemies wauered so alreadie for feare that with their approche onely they should put them to flight. He reduced his father Philip vnto their memory, how he conquered the Athenians with the countrey of Boetia, where he razed to the ground the noble City of Thebes. After that he made rehearsall of the battaile wonne at the Riuer of Granike, and of all the cities that hee had taken, or that had bẽn yelded vnto him, with the countreys they had passed thorow and subdued. When he came vnto the Grækes, he desired them to call to mynde the great warres that had bene made against their countrey in tymes past by ỳ Persians. First by the pride of Xerxes, and after by Darius, who made destruction both by water

and

and land in such sort, that the riuers coulde not serue them of drinke, nor the earth of victuals for to eate: rehearsing also how the temples of their gods had bẽn by them polluted and put to ruine, their cities ouerthrowen, and the truces and promises by them violated and broken, that were confirmed both by diuine and humaine lawes. When he passed by the Illyrians and Thracians which were accustomed alwaies to liue vpon theft and spoile: he bade them behold their enemies which glistered with golde, and bare no armour, but spoyle for them to take. Yee encouraged them to goe forwardes lyke men, and plucke the praye from those effeminate women, and to make exchaunge of their craggy rockes and bare hilles alwayes full of Snowe, for the plentifull groundes and riche landes of Persia. By the tyme hée had made these exhortations, they were come within the throwe of their Dartes. And Darius horsemen gaue a fierce charge vppon the right hand battayle of the Macedones. For Darius desire was to trie the battayle by horsemen, iudging (as it was in déede) that the chiefest power of his enemies consisted in their square battayle of fotemen. So that the battaile where Alexander remained, was brought to the poynt of enclosing about, if he had not perceiued the same in time, who commanded two troupes of his horsemẽ to kéepe the top of the hil, & brought all the rest to the encounter of hys enemies.

Then he conueyed the Thessalian horsemen from the place where they stode to fight, willyng their Capitaine to bryng them about behynde the battailes, and there ioynyng with Parmenio, to doe the thyng manfully that hee should appoynt them. By this the Phalanx of the Macedones in maner enclosed about with their enemies, fought notably on all partes, but they stode so thicke, and were so ioyned one to an other, that there wanted scope to welde their dartes. They were so mingled together, that in casting one letted onother, very fewe lighted vpon the enemies with weake dintes, & the most part fell on the ground without harme doyng, wherefore beyng enforced to ioyne hand for hand, they valiauntly vsed the sworde. Then there was great effusion of blood: for both the armies closed so neere, that their harnesse clashed together, weapon against weapon, and foyned one at anothers face with their swordes. There was no place for the fearefull or the coward for to flie backe, but eche set his foote to another, and by fighting, kept still their place, til they could make their way by force, & so allwaies passed forwards, as they had once ouerthrowen their enimies. As they were wearied & trauailed thus with fighting, they were euer receiued w̄ fresh enimies: & such as were wounded, might not depart out of ỹ battell (as it hath bene seen elswhere) their enemies assailed thē so fiercely before, & their fellowes thrust on so hard behind.

behind. Alexãder ỹ day did not only such things as pertained to a Capitaine, but aduentured himselfe as farre as any priuate souldier, coueting by all meanes to kill Darius, which hée estæmed the greatest honour. Darius did ride aloft vpon his chariot, giuing great prouocation both to his enemies to assaile him, and for hys owne men to defend him. As Oxatres his brother appeared most notable amongst them all in his furniture and personage, so in hardinesse and affection towardes the king he exceéded far the rest, speciallie in that case of necessitie. For when he sawe Alexander approch so neare, hee thrust in before Darius with ỹ band of horsmẽ, whereof he had the charge, whereas ouerthrowing diuers, he put many to flight. But the Macedons swarmed so about the king, and were in such a courage by the exhortatiõ that ech made to other, that they charged again vpon the band of horsemen. Then the slaughter was great, and the ouerthrowe manifest. About the chariot of Darius, the noblest of his capitaines lay dying honourably in the sight of their prince. For like as they receiued their deathes woundes, so they fell without turning their backes. Amongst thẽ Aricyes, Romythres, and Sabaces, gouernors of Egypt, hauing the charge of great numbers of men, were ouerthrowne and slaine, and about them there lay by heapes a huge number of the vulgar sorte, both of horsemen and footmen. Of the Macedons also some were slaine, specially of

such as preſſed moſt forwarde, amongſt whome the righte ſhoulder of Alexander lightlye was hurte with a ſworde. In this throng the horſes that drew Darius chariot, were thruſt in with pikes, which beeing wood for paine of their woũdes, beganne to ſtruggle and ouerthrowe their maiſter. Ye fearing therefore to be taken alive, leaped downe, and was ſet vppon a ledde horſe, and ſo fledde away, caſting his Diademe from his head, becauſe he would not be knowen. Then all his men for feare diſparckeled, fledde by ſuch waies as were open for them, and threw away their armour, which before they had taken for their defence: Such a thing is feare, that refuſeth the thing that ſhould be his ſafegarde. Whē Parmenio ſawe them flie, he ſtraight commanded the horſemen to purſue them in the chaſe, and put all his enemies to flighte, that were on that parte. But on the other hand, the Perſians put the Theſſalian horſemen to a ſore diſtreſſe, for at the firſt ſhocke they had broken one of their troupes: yet for all that when the Theſſalians ſawe their enemies paſſe through them, they cloſed themſelues togither againe, & charged vppon the Perſians, who by reaſon of their onſet giuing, and for that they thought themſelues ſure of the victorie, became cleane out of order, and were ouerthrowne with great ſlaughter. The Theſſalians had herein a great aduantage, by reaſon that the Perſians beſides that they be armed themſelues, haue their horſes al-

so barbed with plates of stéele, which was the cause they could not on the onset, or retyre be so quicke as the Thessalians were: for by their celeritie, wherein the feate of horsemen chieflie consisteth, they had ouerthrowne manie of them before they could turne their horses about. Whē Alexander vnderstoode that his men preuailed of their enemies on that parte likewise, he was bolde to followe in the chase, which hee durst not doe before he knew the battaile to be clearly wonne, and the enemies repulsed on all sides. Alexander had not about him aboue a thousand horsemen, with whom he slewe innumerable of his enemies. For who is he ẏ in an ouerthrowe or chase can number men? Those fewe Macedons did driue the multitude of their enemies before them like sheepe, and the same feare that caused them flie, staied them likewise in their flying. The Grecians that were on Darius side vnder their Capitaine Amintas (which sometime had bēene in great authoritie with Alexander, but then against him) brake out from ẏ rest, and marched away in order of battaile. All the rest fledde diuers waies, some directly towardes Persia, and some by pathes and priuie waies escaped by the mountaines and the woodes. A fewe there were that recouered their former campe, which they could not defende anie time against the Macedons that were victours, but the same immediately was wonne, beeing aboundant of all riches, of golde and siluer, appertai-

pertaining not onely to the wars, but to all voluptuouſneſſe and exceſſe: which riches whiles the ſouldiers violently ſpoyled, they ſtrowed the waies full of packes and fardels, which they would not touch, in reſpect of the couetous deſire they had to thinges of greater value. But when they came vnto the women, as their tiremets was moſt pretious, ſo the more violently they plucked them away, and their bodies were not free from their luſt and enforcement. The campe euerie where was full of tumult and lamentation, as chaunce fell to ech one. The licenciouſnes of the victorers was ſuch, that their crueltie raged vppon all ages and kinde of creatures, and no kinde of miſchiefe wanted among them. There might haue beene ſeene the variablenes of fortune, when they which had prepared Darius pauilion with all kinde of delicacie and rich furniture, reſerued and kept the ſame for Alexander as for their olde maiſter. For the Macedons had left that vnſpoyled according to their auncient cuſtome, which are euer wont to receiue their king whē he is victorious, into the kings pauilion that he hath vanquiſhed. The mother and wife of Darius that were there taken priſoners, moued all men to caſt their eyes & inward contemplation towardes them, whereof the one deſerued to be reuerenced for the maieſtie that was in her, and for her age, and the other for the excellencie of her beautie, which thorough her miſaduenture was nothing ſtayned.

ned. She was seene embracing her little sonne in her armes, not yet of the age of vi. yeres, born as inheritour to the dominion which his father newly had lost. There lay also two young virgins in their grandmothers lap, euen then mariageable, which then languished and lamented not so much through their owne priuate sorrow as for the dolorousnes of the old woman. About the mother and the wife were a great number of noble women, that pulled their haire, & tare their clothes, without respect what appertained to their estate. Who vnmindfull of the fall Darius wife and his mother were come vnto, called them still by the name of Quéens, with such other titles of honour as they did before. They all forgetting their owne miserie, were diligent to enquire the fortune of the field, and what successe the battaile had where Darius was. For if hee were aliue (they saide) they coulde in no wise think themselues prisoners. But he by the chaunging of manie horses, was by that time fledde farre away. There were slaine of ỹ Persian footmen a hundred thousand, and ten thousand horsemen. And of Alexanders company on 504. hurt, and 32. footmen, and a 150. horsemen killed. So great a victorie was gotten with so small a losse. Alexander that was wearied with pursuing of Darius, when he perceiued ỹ night to drawe on, and that there was no hope to ouertake him whome he followed, returned into the Persians campe, which a little before his

comming

comming was taken by his men. That nighte he made a banquet to such as he accustomed to cal, for the hurt of his shoulder, wherof the skin being but smally perished, letted him not to keep companie. As they sate at meate, sodainly they heard a pittifull crie with a straunge howling & lamentation, that put them all in great feare: In so much that the bande that kept the watch about the kings pauileon, fearing it to be the beginning of some great matter, began to arme themselues.. The wife and mother of Darius, with the other noble women newly taken prisoners, were the cause of his sodaine feare, by lamenting of Darius, whom they supposed had beene slaine. Which opinion they conceiued thorough one of the Eunuches, which standing before their tent dore, sawe a souldier carie a parcell of Darius diademe, which he a little before had cast from his head. When Alexander vnderstood their errour, he wept (as it was said) to consider Darius misfortune, and the womens affection towards him. And for their comforte sente to them one Mithrenes that betraied Sardes, who was expert in the Persian tong, but yet considering that the sight of him being a traitor should but increase their sorrowe, sente a noble man called Leonatus, to declare to them howe they were deceiued, and that Darius was aliue. He came towardes the tent where the women were, with certaine men in harnesse, and sente worde before, that he was come thyther

from

from the King. But when such as stode at the tent dooze sawe armed men comming, supposing their errand had béene to murther their mistresses, ranne in to them, and cried out that their last houre was come, for the men were at hand that were sent to kill them. The seruants therefore that neyther durst let Leonatus in, nor kéepe him out, brought him no aunswer, but remained quietlie to sée what hee woulde doe. When Leonatus had long taried at the dooze, and sawe none came forth to call him in, he left his men without, and entred amongst the women. Whose comming vnto them before hee was admitted, was the thing that feared them most of all. The mother therefore and wife of Darius fell downe at his féete, requiring him y before they were slaine, he would suffer them to burie Darius after his countrey maner: which last obseruaunce perfourmed, they were content (they saide) gladly to suffer death. Leonatus assured them that both Darius was aliue, and that there was no harme towardes them, but they should remaine in the same estate they were in before. When Sisigambis heard those wordes, she suffered her selfe to be lifte vp from the grounde, and to receiue some comforte. The next day Alexander with great diligence buried the bodyes of such of his owne men as could bée found, and willed the same to be done to the noble menne of the Persians, giuing license to Darius mother to burie so many as shee liste,

after

after the custome of her countrey. She perfourmed the same to a fewe that were nerte of her kinne, according to the abilitie of her presente fortune, for if she would haue vsed the Persians pompe therein, the Macedons might haue enuied it, which beeing victorers, vsed no great curiositie in the matter. When the due was performed to the deade, Alexander signified to the women prisoners, that he himselfe would come to visite them, and causing such as came with him to tarie without, he onely with Ephestion entred in amongst them. The same Ephestion of all men was moste deare vnto Alexander, brought vp in his companie from his youth, and most priuie with him in all things. There was none that had such libertie to speake his minde plainly to the king as he had, which he vsed after such sorte, that he seemed to doe it by no auctoritis, but by sufferance. And as he was of like yeeres vnto him, so in shape and personage hee did somewhat ercell him. Wherefore the women thinking Ephistion to bee the king, did fall downe and worship him (as their countrey manner was to doe to kings) till such time as one of the Eunuches which was taken prisoner, shewed which of them was Alexander. Then Sisigambis fell downe at his feete, requiring pardon of her ignorance, for so much as she neuer did see him before. The king toke her vp by the hand, and said: mother, you be not deceiued, for this is Alexander also. Which his humi-

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litie and continencie of mind, if he had continually obserued to his latter daies, he might haue bœne thought much more happier then he was, when ỹ he hauing subdued al Asia from Hellespont to the Ocean Sea, did counterfeit the tryumphs of Bacchus. Or if that amongst the rest of his conquests, he would haue laboured to conquere his pride and his ire, bæing vices inuincible. Or if in his dronkennes he would haue abstained from the slaughter of his nobilitie, and not to haue put to death those excellent men of warre without iudgement, which helped him to conquer so many nations: But at this time the greatnes of his fortune had not yet altered his nature, though afterwardes hee coulde not beare his victories with that vertue he did win them. Then hee behaued himselfe after such a manner, that he exceeded in continencie and cõpassion, all the kinges that had bœne before hys time. He entertained the two Quœnes wt those virgins that were of excellent beautie, so reuerently, as if they had bœne his sisters. He not only abstained from all violation of Darius wife, which in beautie excelled all the women of her time, but also toke great care and diligence, ỹ none other should procure her to any dishonour. And to all the women he commaunded their ornamentes and apparell should bee restored. So that they wanted nothing of the magnificence of their former estate, sauing onely the assured confidence that creatures wante in miserie.

Which thinges conſidered by Siſigambis, ſhee ſaid vnto the king: Sir, your goodneſſe towards vs doth deſerue, that wee ſhoulde make nowe the ſame praier for you, that wee did ſometime for Darius, & we perceiue you worthy to paſſe ſo great a king as hee was in felicitie and good fortune, that abound ſo in iuſtice and clemency. You vouchſafe to cal me by the name of mother and Quéene, but I confeſſe my ſelfe to be your handmaid. For both I conceyue the greatnes of my eſtate paſt, & féele that I can beare this preſent ſeruitude. It lyeth onely in your handes howe we ſhall bee dealt withall, and whether you will make vs notable to the world, through your clemencie or crueltie. The King comforted them all he might, and willing them to bee of good cheare, toke Darius ſonne in his armes. Thereat the childe was nothing afraid, hauing neuer ſéene him before, but toke and embraced him about the necke. Hee was ſo moued with the conſtancie of the child, that he beheld Epheſtion, and ſaide: Oh I would that Darius had had ſome parte of this gentle diſpoſition. When he was departed from thence, hee cauſed three aultars to bee made vppon the Ryuer of Pyramus, and there did ſacrifice to Iupiter, Hercules, and Minerua, and ſo went forwardes into Syria. He ſent Parmenio afore vnto Damaſco, whereas Darius treaſure did remaine: who vnderſtãding by the way that Darius had ſent one of his nobles thither, fearing that for the

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smalnes of his owne number the Damascens would kéepe him out, determined to sende for a greater power. But by chaunce one Bardus fel into the hands of the horsemen, that he had sent before to scoure the Countrey, which beeing brought before Parmenio, deliuered him the letters ỳ the Capitaine of Damasco had sent to Alexander, and besides the letters, added of hymselfe, that he doubted not but all Darius riches and his treasure should bée deliuered to him at his arriuall. Parmenio gaue the charge to certain of his men for his sure kéeping, and then opened the letters, wherein it was conteined, that Alexander in all hast should send one of his Capitaines thither with a small power. Which thing knowne, he sente Bardus backe againe to Damasco, with certaine to accompanie him, but he escaped out of their handes, and came to Damasco before daye light. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubting that his enemies had laide some ambushment for him, and therefore durst not go an vnknowne way without a guide. Yet notwithstanding, vppon the confidence hee had in the felicitie of his Prince, toke peasantes of the countrey to conduct him the way, which the iij. day brought him to the Citie of Damasco. The capitaine doubting the credence should not bee giuen to his letter, pretended to mistrust the strength of the Towne, and made countenance as though he would flie awaye. By the spring of the daye, hée caused

Darius treasure (which the Persians cal Gaza) with the reste of all his pretious thinges to bee brought forth of the Towne, of purpose to betray the same into the Macedons hands. There were manie thousandes of menne and women that followed, a piteous sight to all them that sawe them, saving to him, to whose fidelity they were committed. For hee to winne him selfe thankes, purposed to deliuer to the Macedons a pray more pretious then all the reste, which were such of the nobilitie as hee had in keeping, with the Wiues and children of great men that bare rule vnder Darius: and besides the Embassadors of the Cities of Græce, whome Darius had lefte in the traytours handes, as in a fortresse to his thinking, of moste suretie. The Persians call those (Gangabe) that carrie burthens vpon their shoulders, who hauing the carriage of thinges of moste valure, when they could not endure the colde for the frosste and snowe that sodainly fell, they put vppon them the Roabes of cloth of Golde and purple, which they caried wrapt vp togither with the money, there being no man to lette them: For the aduersitie of Darius caused that base sorte of men to vse a licentious libertie. Those kinde of men seemed to Parmenio at the firste sighte to be no small armie, and therefore regarded not the matter lightlye, but gaue exhortation to those that were with him, as though they should haue fought a sore battayle, and willed them to put

their

their spurres to their horse, and giue the charge. Which thing perceiued by them that bare the burthens, they fledde away for feare, and so did the men of warre that were with them, by such waies as they best knewe. The Capitaine of Damasco, counterfeyting such feare as other feared in deede, was the cause of all this confusion. The riches of Darius was lefte alone, and leye sparckled abroade ouer all the fieldes, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a number of souldiers, and also the apparaile of so manie great men and noble Women, vessels of golden furnitures for horses, pauilions adorned with regal magnificence and Waggons full of infinite riches. A thinge euen sorrowfull to beholde to the spoilers, if any thing coulde stay the couetousnes of menne. Was it not a pittifull thing to beholde, the riches that had bene gathered togither in so great number of yeares, whiles the state of the Persians stoode in that incredible height of fortune, one parte to bee torne with bushes, and an other drowned in the mire, it beeing so great besides, that the handes of the spoylers could not suffise for the spoyle. When the horsemen had ouertaken them that fledde, firste they founde diuers Women harying of the small children, amongst whome there were foure Virgins, the daughters of Oechus, that reigned nexte before Darius. They before that time had suffered chaunge of fortune, when the state was altered

from their Fathers line. But this aduerſitie was much more grieuous vnto them. There was in the flocke of the Wife of Mechus, the daughter of Oratis that was Darius brother, and the wife of Artabasus which was of the head houſe of Perſia, with hys ſonne alſo called Ilioneſus. The wife and the ſonne of Farnabasus were alſo taken, to whome Darius had committed the charge of all the Sea coaſtes, and with them the ij. Daughters of Mentor, the Wife, and the Sonne of the noble Capitayne Memnon. There was ſcarſely anye houſe of the Nobilitie of Perſia free from that euill aduenture. There were both Lacedemonians and Athenians, that contrarie to the league betweene Alexander and them, toke Darius parte. Amongeſt the Athenians Ariſtogiton, Hypides, and Leuertes, were of moſt notable fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians the chiefeſt were Periſippus and Onomastorides, with Omamys and Callicratides. The ſumme of the coyned money there taken, was twoo thouſand fyue hundred talentes, and of maſſy ſiluer fiue hundred talents. Beſide thirtie thouſand menne, and ſeuen thouſande beaſtes that carryed burdens on their backes. But the Goddes did perſecute with due punifhment the betrayer of ſuch a treaſure. For one whome hee had made priuye to the matter, pittying therein the eſtate of

his

his Prince, did slea the traytour, and brought his head to Darius. A comforte not vnapte for the time to the betraied king. For thereby hee was both reuenged of his enemie, and perceiued that the memorie due vnto his estate, was not growne out of all mens harts.

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¶THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



Arius which a litle before was Lorde of so great an armie, and that came into the fielde carried aloft vpon his chariot, more like to triumph then to fight, fled by the places then waste and desert which he before had filled with his infinite numbers of men of warre. There were but few that followed him: For neither they fledde all one way, nor such as followed could kéep pace with him that so often chaunged horses. At length he went to Anchas, where he was receiued of iiij. M. Grékes, which conducted him to the riuer of Euphrates, thinking all such his countries to be lost, in the which he could not preuent Alexander by haste making. Parmenio was appointed gouernour of Siria, and to be the képer of the treasure & prisoners which hee toke at Damasco. The Sirians could not at the first beare the newe gouernment, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres, but as they reuolted, they were straightway subdued, performing all that they were appointed to doe. The Ile of Arade, was yélden to Alexander, where-

of

of Strato was king, that had in subiection all the Sea coast, with diuers of the Iland countries, who submitting himselfe, Alexander remoued to the citie of Marathon. There he receiued letters from Darius, that put hym in great choler, because they were so arrogantly written. The speciall point that moued Alexander, was for that Darius writing himselfe king, did not vouchsafe to giue him that title, but did write rather by way of commaundemẽt then of request, proffering for the ransome of his wife and children, so much money as Macedon could receiue. For the superioritie (he sayde) he put it to his choise, to try it by the sworde if hee list. But if he would be better aduised, he willed him to be content with his owne enheritãce, and so he would ioyne in amitie with him, and become his friend, in which point he was ready to enter into treatie. Alexander did write to him againe after this manner: Darius whose name thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vppon the Grecians inhabiting on the coast of Hellespont, and vpon the Ionians which be Greeke cities, passing from thence the sea with a great army to make war against Greece and Macedon. And also king Xerxes thy predecessour came to subdue vs with infinite numbers, which being vanquished in a battaile on the Sea, left notwithstanding Mardonius behynd him in Greece, to destroy their cities and burne their countreis. It is manifest besides, that Philip my father was slaine by such as were corrupted thereunto with your money. Ye vndertake alwayes vniust warres, and occupying armes, goe about for all that to circumuent men with treason. As thou of late, hauing such number of men in thy owne army, diddest procure my death with the promise

promise of a thousand Talentes. I am not therefore the beginner of the warres, but repulse such iniuries as bee profered me. In doyng whereof (through the helpe of the gods which fauour alwayes the right) haue brought the more part of Asia vnder my subiection: and hauing ouercome thee in battayle by force of armes, there is no cause that I should graunt thee any thing, which hast not obserued towards me the law of armes, yet if thou wilt come and submit thy selfe, I promise thee that I will deliuer both thy mother, wife and children: for both I know how to get the victory, & how to vse such as I ouercome, but if thou feareste to commit thy selfe to vs, I will giue thee safe conduite to come freely. In the rest when thou writeste vnto mee, remember that thou writeste not onely to a kyng, but also vnto hym that is thy kyng. He sent this letter by Thersippus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the Citie of Biblon was yéelded vnto him. And so came vnto Sidon which was a Citie of great nobilitie, by reason of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The same was vnder Stratos dominion, supported by the power of Darius, who yéelding more by the constreint of the people, then of his owne good will, was thought vnworthy to reigne there. Alexander made a graunt to Ephestion that he should make such one kyng, whom the Sidon thought most worthy that estate. There were diuers noble young men in that Citie that had familiaritie with Ephestion, of whome he purposed to haue chosen one king, but they refused his offer: affirmyng, that none might enioy that dignitie, except he were descended of the bloud royall. Ephestion wondered at the magnamitie that was in thē,

in despising the thyng which other sought for by sword and fire, and therefore sayd: continue you still in that vertuous mynde, which be the first that have vnderstanding, how much better it is to refuse then to receiue a kingdome. Chuse you therefore such one of the bloud royall, that may remember he hath receyued the rule at your handes. But when they saw diuers gaping for it, and for the grædinesse they had to reigne, fell to flatterying of suche as were neere aboute Alexander, resolued that there was none more meete for that dignitie, then one Abbolominus, who beyng of the auncient bloude of the kynges, for pouertie was enforced to dwell in a small graunge without the Citie. His honesty was the cause of his pouerty (as it is to many other) and beyng occupied in his daily labour, heard no noyse of the warres that troubled all Asia. They of whome we spake of before, came into his garden with garmentes to apparell hym lyke a kyng, and found hym wædyng of his ground, whome they saluted kyng, and sayde: You must make exchaunge of the vyleneſſe of your apparell, with these riche robes we here present vnto you: Washe the bodye that is nowe foule and filthie, take vppon you the heart of a kyng, and in this Fortune whereof you bee worthie, shew the same moderation and continencie you doe vse presently. And when you shall sitte in your Regall seate, hauing in your

handes

handes power of the life and death of your people, do in no wise forget the estate yee were in when ye toke the kingdome vpon you, nor yet for what purpose ye did receiue it. The matter seemed to Abdolominus like a dreame, and asked them if they were mad that would mocke him after that maner. But when he saw them affirme by othes the thing to be in earnest, hee washed himselfe, and receiuing the garment which was of purple and gold, went with them into the palace. The fame (as is wont in such a case) did notably runne abroad of this matter. Some fauoured the cause, and some did disdain it, but such as were rich, did repugne his pouertie and base estate to such as were neere about Alexander, which caused the king to sende for him, and when he had long beholden his behauiour, sayd: your personage doth not disagree to the fame of your linage. But I desire to knowe with what patience you did sustaine your pouertie. I would to God (quoth he) I could beare my prosperitie in like case now when I am a king. These handes did get that I desired, and hauing nothing, I lacked nothing. His wordes caused Alexander to conceiue of him a marueilous opinion, so that he gaue vnto him not only the riches, stuffe, and furniments appertaining to the king before, but also many thinges that were taken from the Persians, adding to his dominion all the countrey neere about the Citie. In the meane season Amintas with foure thou-

sand

sand Greekes that escaped with him out of the field, fled to Tripolis, where he embarked, and sayled vnto Cyprus: thinking the world to bee such then, that euery one might enioy that hee could get, like as it had beene his owne inheritance. His purpose was to go into Egypt, thinking there to become enemy both to Darius & Alexander, and to waigh with the world, according as the tyme should alter. To bring therefore his souldiors to hope well of his enterprise, he declared how the gouernour of Egypt was slaine in the battell, and that the Persians left there in garison were but a small number, of little force, and without any head. He shewed how the Egyptians vsed to rebell against their gouernours, wherefore they were sure to be receiued as friends. For since necessitie (quoth hee) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our first hope, we must now thinke that thinges to come shall be much better then our present estate. They all agreed with one voyce, that he should lead them where hee list. Whereupon, thinking good not to pretermit the occasion whiles the hope was whote in their hearts, conueyed them into Egypt, and entered the hauen at Pelusium, vnder pretence that hee had bene sent thither by Darius. When he had gotten Pelusium, he set forwardes towardes Memphis, at the fame of whose comming, the Egyptians being a light nation, and more apte to make a stirre then to maintaine it, when it

is once begunne, ranne to him out of al townes and villages, with entent to destroy all ỹ Persians. But they notwithstanding the feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the countrey, but fought with the Grækes, and were put to flight. After that victory Amyntas besieged Memphis, and his men destroyed so all the countrey thereaboutes, that they left nothing vnspoyled. Whereupon Mazeches, though hee perceiued his souldiours much amazed with the feare of their late ouerthrow, yet when he saw his enemies scattered abroad and without order, for the pride they had conceiued of their victory: at length perswaded his men to issue out of the citie, and in setting vpon their enemies, recouer againe that they had lost. Which aduise beyng good of it self, by good handling toke most fortunate successe. For they slew at that tyme both Amyntas and all his company. This punishment he suffered for the offence committed to both princes, being neither fearefull to Alexander whome hee forsoke, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius captaines which escaped from the battaile at Isson, gatheryng together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could leauy in Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, did attempt to recouer agayne the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many souldioures out of the garisons to send vnto Alexander: yet

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he so little estéemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persiãs receiued there the lyke fortune they did in other places: which attempting the fight in thrée sundry countreyes, were vanquished in them all. At the same tyme the name of the Macedones which Alexander had sent for out of Grece, méetyng Aristomenes (whom Darius had appointed to make warre vpõ the coast of Hellespont) toke and drowned all his shippes. Farnabasus Darius Admirall, hauyng exacted money at Milesium, and set a garison in Scio, passed into the Isle of Andros with an hundred shippes. And from thence he went to Syphnus, and putting men of warre into all the Ilandes, exacted of them money. The greatnesse of the warre that was in hande betwéene two of the most puissaunt Princes of Asia and Europe, did drawe both Gréece and Crete to armes. Agis the king of Lacedemon, gathered together viij. thousand Grékes that were come home out of Cilicia, and mooued warre to Antipater that was the gouernour of Macedone. The Cretians followyng sometyme one part, and sometyme an other, receyued one while garison of the Macedones, and another while of the Lacedemonians to lye amongest them. But those warres were of no great importaunce. For all mens eyes were fixed vpon the warres that were in vre betwéene Alexander and Darius, whereuppon all the rest did depend.

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The Macedones had subdued all Syria & Phenice, Tyre onely except, which beyng the greatest and most notable citie of all that countrey, shewed that they estæmed themselues worthy rather to ioyne with Alexander as friends, then to become his subiectes. For when he was come nære vnto them, and encamped vpon the maine land, which is deuided from their citie with a small arme of the Sea: They sent to hym by their Embassadours a crowne of gold for a present, with great plenty besides of victuals for his army. He receiued their giftes as from his friends, and gaue gentle answeres vnto the embassadours: but he shewed himselfe much desirous to make sacrifice vnto Hercules (whome the Tyrias especially worshipped, and the Macedon kinges supposed themselues to bee discended of him) beyng admonished thereunto (as he sayd) by an Oracle. The Embassadours made answere: that there was a temple of Hercules without their citie in the place which they call Phaletiron, where as he might doe sacrifice at his pleasure. At those wordes Alexander coulde not refraine his ire, whereunto he was much subiect, but fell in a rage: I perceiue now (quoth he) because ye dwell in an Iland, ye trust so much in the situation of your city, that ye despise my land power. But I will shortly do you to vnderstand, that yæ dwel vpon the maine land, and bring you in such case, as your Iland shall not helpe you: and therefore trust to it, that if ye receiue me not in, I will enter by force. When the Embassadours were dismissed with

this

this answere, such as were neere about ỹ king, perswaded them that they should not exclude him, whom all Syria and Phenises had receyued. But they had conceiued such a confidence for that their Citie stode in the Sea, deuided lxxx. furlonges from the maine land, that they vtterly determined to abide the siege. That Sea of theirs is much subiect to the Southwest wynd, which made at euery storme the waues beate so high against the shore, that it would not suffer the Macedons to make any worke for the ioyning of the mayne land to the Citie: it beyng scarcely possible to work any thing there, when the weather was most caulme. The first worke that the Macedones began, was by and by throwen downe with the vehemencie of the Seas that were driuen by the winde. For they could make no Mole so strong within the Sea, but that it was washed away & brought downe by the beating of the waues. And when ỹ wind blew streinably, it would bring the seas cleane ouer the worke. There was another difficultie no lesse then this. For by reason that the walles were inuironed about with the dæpnesse of the sea, they could raise no engine to shote but a far off out of ships, nor there was not any ground about the Citie, whereuppon ladders myght haue bene rayled agaynst the walles, or approche made vnto them by lande. Alexander had no ships, and though he had had some, and would haue coueted to bring them to ỹ walles,

yet by reason of the vnstableness of the water, they might with shot easely haue bene kept of. But amongst the rest of other things, the Tirians were wonderfully encouraged by the comming of the Embassadors sent from Carthage, to celebrate a yerely sacrifice, according to their custome. For the Tirians being the builders of Carthage, were since that tyme had in veneration of them as their parentes and first foũders. Those Embassadors exhorted them in any wise to abide the siege, and promised them shortly ayde, which they alleaged might easily & sone be done, forsomuch as at that tyme all the seas were ful of the Carthage fleetes. Upon this harting, they determined to abide the extremitie, and placed their engines vpon the towers & the walles, deuiding their armour amongst ỹ youth of the citie. The artificers, whereof the city had great plenty, were deuided into workehouses, to make all such thinges as were necessary for the warres. There were deuised certaine instruments wherewith they might pull downe the workes that their enemies made, called Harpagõs, and also crowes of iron named Corui, with all other things that might be inuented for the defence of cities. But a strange thing is reported, that when the Iron was put in the Forge and blowen in the fire, the same was seene to be full of droppes of bloud. Which wonder the Tirians did interprete as a token of good fortune towardes themselues, and as a significa-

tion

tion of destruction towardes their enemies. A like thing was seene amongest the Macedones. For when a certaine souldiour was breakyng of his bread, droppes of bloud appeared therein. Whereat Alexander beyng astonied, Aristander that was most cunnyng of all the diuiners of their religion, did interprete thus the matter. If the bloud had appeared outwardly, then it had signified euill Fortune to the Macedons, but in as much as it was found within, it betokened destruction to the citie they went about to get. Alexander considering his nauy to bee farre from him, and that a long siege should bee great impediment to his other affaires, sent officers of armes vnto the citie to perswade them vnto peace, whom the Tirians against the law of nations did drowne in the Sea. Their vniust death stirred Alexander so much, that he then vtterly determined to goe forwardes with the siege. But before he could make his approche, it was of necessitie for him to make a Peere or a Mole, whereby they myght passe from the mayne lande to the Citie. But in the makyng thereof there entered great dispaire into all mens heartes, considering the deepenesse of the Sea, which they sawe not possible to bee filled scarcely by any diuine power. For they thought no stones so great, no trées so high, nor any countrey to haue such plenty as might suffice for the building of a banke in such a place, considering the sea remained alwaies troubled.

And the narower the place was betweene the citie and the land, so much more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his souldiours to what effect him pleased, declared how that Hercules appeared vnto him in his sleepe, and gaue him his hand, proferyng to be his capitaine and his guide for the enterance of the Citie. Thereunto he added the killyng of his Embassadours, whereby they had violated and broken the lawe that all nations obserued, and that there remained but onely one Citie which stayed his victory. Thereupon he deuided the worke amongst his capitaines, that euery one might apply his owne band, and so put the worke in vre, when he had once sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plenty of stones at hand of the Mines of the olde Citie where Tyre stode before, and for the making of boates and towers, timber was brought from the mount Libanus. The worke did grow from the bottome of the sea like a mountain, but not yet brought to the high water marke. And the further the Piere was wrought from the lande vnto the sea-ward, so much the sooner the sea did swalow vp the substance of things, whereof the same was made. While the Macedones were thus about their worke, ỹ Tirians would come about them in smal vessels, & giue them wordes of reproch & scorne: as they were now become godly men of warre, that would be made Pioners and cary burdens like beastes vppon their backes.

backes. And they asked thē also if they thought Alexander to be greater then the god of the sea. But their reproofe did not hinder but encrease the chéerefulnes of the souldiours in their payne and trauaile. In so much the Mole in a short space surmounted aboue the water, and encreasing much in breadth, approched néere vnto the Citie. Then the Tirians séeing the hugenesse of the worke, in the increase whereof they sawe thēselues deceiued, little thinking that it would haue growen to such passe, in little vessels came rowing about the Péere, and did driue the souldiours with shot from their working, & because it lay in them to bring their boates sodainly forwards, and returne sone againe, they hurt many of the Macedones without danger to themselues, enforcing them to leaue their worke, and fall to their owne defence. For remedy whereof, and to auoide their enemies shot, they were compelled to stretch out beastes skinnes vpon poles like sailes, and set those betwéene them and their enemies. And besides, at the head of the Péere they raised vp two Towers, from whence with shotte and casting of dartes, they kept of the boates that came about them. On the other side, the Tirians would land w̄ their boates far out of the sight of the campe, and kill such as were carying of stones. The peasaunts besides of Araby, did set vppon certaine Macedons that were scattered abroad in the Mount Libanus, where they slewe and toke diuers.

That was one cause which moued Alexander to deuide his armie. And least he might seeme to remayne idlely about the siege of one Citie, he appointed Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the worke he had in hande, and went into Arabia with such part of his power most apte for his purpose. In the meane season the Tirians prepared a great ship laden with stones and grauell behynd, so that the foreparte sloted aboue the water, which shippes annointed ouer with pitche & brimstone, they brought sodainly by sayling and force of Dares vnto the Peere, and there remayning, the Mariners set the Shippe on fire, and then leaped into the boates which followed after for the purpose. The shippe thus set on fire so inflamed the wood worke pertainyng to the Peere, that before any rescue could come, the fire had taken the Towers of the Peere, and all the rest of the workes that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, sawe the matter take such effect, they put betwixt the Timber and other voyde places, both firebrandes and all such thinges as might giue nourishment and encrease to the fire: so that the towers and all the rest beyng on a flame, many of the Macedones were consumed therewith, and the rest forsoke their armour and threw themselues into the Sea. Then the Tirians that were more desirous to take them aliue to kill them with staues and stones, did so beate them on the

hands

handes as they were ſwimmyng, that for wearineſſe they were glad to be taken vp into their boates. The whole worke was not conſumed with fire onely. For it chaunced alſo the ſame day a terrible winde to riſe, which blowing out of the Sea, brought the waues with ſuch violence vpon the Mole, that with often beating of the Seas, the ioyntes that knitte the worke together, began to loſe and leaue their hold. Then the water that waſhed through, brake downe the Mole in the middeſt, ſo that the heapes of ſtones which were before ſuſtained by the timber and earth caſt betwixt them once broken a ſunder, the whole worke fell to ruine and was caried away into the déepe Sea. By that time Alexander was returned out of Arabie, and ſcarcely found any remayne or token, that any ſuch worke had bene. In that caſe (as it is euer vſed in thinges that chaunce euill) one laid the fault vppon an other, when in déede the violence of the Sea was the cauſe of all. Alexander beganne to make the Péere agayne after a new ſort, the head thereof lying into the weather and the winde, and not the open ſide as it did before: So that the forefront alwayes defended the reſt of the worke lying behynde. Hée encreaſed alſo the breadth thereof, to the intent the Towers might bee builded in the middeſt of the Péere, whereby they ſhould be leaſt ſubiect to the enimies ſhotte. Whole trées were put into the Sea with their toppes and braunches,

and after great stones throwen vppon them. And ouer those a new course of trées and stone againe, by which deuise this whole worke was ioyned and knit all in one. As the Macedones were busie to bring their worke forwards, so the Tirians were as diligent to inuent all such things, as might giue impedimrnt to their proceeding. Their chiefe practise was for a number of them to enter into the sea a farre of out of the Macedons sight, and so come dyuing vnder the water till they came vnto the peere, where with hookes they would pull vnto them the branches of the trées that appeared out of the stones, whereby the stones and the other substance followed after into the deepe. For the trées beyng discharged of their burden, were easily drawen away, and then the foundation failing, ỹ whole Worke that stayed vpon the trées, fell to ruine. Amongst these impediments Alexander stood in great perpleritie of mynd, doubting whether he should continue the siege still, or els depart his way. When he was in this imaginatiõ, sodainly his nauy arriued from Cypres, and Cleander also with such souldiours as he had brought out of Greece. And hauing to the number of 180. shippes, deuided them into two battels, whereof hee committed the one vnto Pythagoras the king of Cypres, and to Craterus, and toke charge of the other hymselfe, committyng hys owne person in a Galley called Cinquereme, the which had fiue Dares on a banke.

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The Tirians durſt not aduenture the ſea fight, although they had a great nauie, but ſet al their Gallies in a front before the wals of their citie, which the king aſſailed and put to diſtreſſe. The next day the Macedons with their ſhips enuironed the Citie round about, and did beat down the walles, ſpecially with ſuch engines as they call Arietes. But the Tirians ſtraight-way reenforced and made vp their walles againe with ſtones that lay at hande, and raiſed vp an inward wall round about within the Citie, which might be their defence if the other failed. But their deſtruction approched on euerie ſide, the Mole was wrought within the caſt of a darte, and the ſhippes gaue the approch round about the walles, ſo that they were ouerlayed both by ſea and by lande. The Macedons had deuiſed to ioine their Galleys two and two togither, in ſuch ſort that the foreparts mette cloſe before, and the hinder parts laye farre off one from the other. And ouer the ſpaces remaining betwixte puppe and puppe, thei made bridges with maſts and maine yardes laid, betwixt Galley and Galley, faſt bound togither to carie ſouldiers vpon. When they had put their Galleys in this order, they ſette forwards toward the Citie. And hauing rampired the prores for defence of the ſouldiers that were behind, they ſtood in their Galleys, and did ſhote and caſt dartes againſt their enemies, without any perill or daunger to themſelues. It was midnight when they had com-

maundement to set forwardes after the maner. As the shippes were approching on all partes, and the Tyrians stode astonied for feare and desperation: sodainly the skie was ouerwhelmed with dimme cloudes, and sodaine darknes toke away the lighte. Then the Sea by little and little wared terrible and rough, the wynde blewe raysing vp the waues, and did beat the shippes one against an other: the violence whereof burst asunder the bandes and graspers wherewith the Galleyes were fastened togither. Which done, the brydges crashed and flewe asonder, and with the souldiers that stode vppon them fell into the Sea. There was great confusion, for the shippes entangled thus togither, could by no meanes be gouerned in such a tempest, the souldiers disturbing the feate of the marriners, and the Mariners giuing impediment to the office of the souldiers Thus (as it doth often happen in such case) the expert were obedient to the ignorant, for the shippe maisters that were wont to commaund, then for feare of death were directed by other: But at length by force of rowing the Galleyes recouered the shore, the more parte of them beeing broken and torne. It chaunced at the same time thirtie Embassadors to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged. For they shewed howe the Carthagens were so assayled with warre at their own dores, that they could

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by no meanes sende them succour. In so much as the Siracusians were burning in Affrike, & had encamped themselues vnder the very wals of Carthage. The Tyrians yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disappointed of their speciall truste, but deliuered vnto those Embassadours their wiues and their children to carrie vnto Carthage, thinking to endure more stoutly the siege, if the things which were most deare vnto them were remooued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian which in an open assembly declared that Apollo (whome the Tyrians greatlie doe worship) had appéered to him in his sléepe, séeming to him that hee had forsaken the Cittie, and transformed the Mole that the Macedons had made, into a great wood Here-vpon (though the authour were of small credite) yet forasmuch as men in feare bee apt to beléeue the worst, they tyed faste Apollos Image with a golden chaine, and bounde faste also the Aulter of Hercules (to whome the Cittie was dedicate) thinking by deteining of the one, to kéepe still the other. The Carthagens in times past had brought that image from Siracuse, and had placed it in the head Citie, out of the which they were descended. For their custome was to adorne Tyre with such spoyles as they had taken, no lesse then they did Carthage it self. They at that time would also haue béene authours vnto the Tyrians for the renuing of an olde sacrifice that had béene omitted

manie

many yéeres, wherein they vsed to offer vp to Saturne a frée borne childe. Which béeing a sacrilege rather then a sacrifice, the Carthagens receiued of their first founders, and still obserued thesame, till their citie was destroied. And but that the auncient men by whom all things were gouerned, did withstand it, this wicked superstition had taken place, which nature and humanitie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer their heades, béeing more effectuall then any arte or science, practised not onely such thinges as were accustomed for defences, but also founde out that was neuer inuented before. For to ỳ disturbance of the ships that approched the walles, they deuised long rafters, to the which they fastened graspels of Iron, and great hookes like Sithes, which lette downe with ropes by an engine, eyther tare the shippes, or destroied the men. They inuented also Targets of mettall to be made fire hot, in the which they put burning sande, and scalding lime, and then poured the same down vpon the Macedons that came néere the walles, béeing a mischiefe that they feared most aboue al other. For when the hot sande entred betwene ỳ harnesse and the bodie, there was no meanes to auoide it: and where it touched it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throwe away their harnesse, and teare away all things they had vppon their bodies. Thereby they became subiect to bée hurt by their enemies, and

were

were not in case to endamage them again. But specially the graspers letten down (called Corui) take violently away many of the souldiers that were in the ships. Alexander seeing the obstinate defence of the Tyrians, was wearie of the matter, and determined to raise his siege, & go vnto Egypt. For considering in how short a space he had subdued Asia, it greeued him to bee deteined so long about the walles of one Citie, whereby he omitted the occasion & opportunitie of greater thinges in the meane season. But hee was as much ashamed to departe without his purpose, as to remaine there, and leaue other things vndone: iudging that if he should leaue Tyre after that sort, as a witnes that he might be withstoode, it should much impaire his fame, wherewith he had gotten more then with force. And it chaunced at the same time a monster of an exceeding bignes to appeere as well in ỹ sight of the Tyrians as the Macedons, which lying vpon his backe aboue the water, came towards the Mole, and when he had lifted vp himselfe at the head of the Mole, diued vnder the water againe, sometime appearing aboue, and somtime hiding himselfe vnderneath, and when he came neere the walles of the Citie, vanished out of sight. The sighte of this monster reioiced both parties, the Macedons interpreting the same to be sent them as a guide for their direction to furnish out the worke, and the Tyrians diuining that Neptune in reuenging the vsurpation that

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the Macedons had made vppon the Sea would shortly destroy the woorke that they had made, in such like sort as he had taken away the monster. They vpon their owne imagination conceiued such a gladnes, and prognosticated to themselues such good fortune, that they fell to banqueting and drinking. And when they were well charged with wine, at the sun rising they set garlandes of flowers vpon their heades, and mounted into Galleyes, not onely with hope of victorie, but with a triumph made before hande. It chaunced at the same time that Alexander had conueied his nauie to the contrary side of ỹ Citie, and left vpon the shore thirtie of the smallest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught ỹ. and put the rest in daunger of distressing, vntill such time as the king hearing the alarme, sette forwardes with his nauie towardes that parte where the crie was heard. The first Galley of ỹ Macedons that came neere them was a quinquereme, the swiftest of all the rest, which whē the Tyrians espied, they came against her with two Galleys crosse vpon her side: whereof the one strake full with her Spurne, with whome the quinquereme grapeled, & the other which was lose at libertie fell vpon her contrary side. But least betwene them two she should sustain some damage, one of Alexanders Tryremes came to the rescue with such violence, that the maister of the loose Galley was stricken into the Sea. When the Tyrians sawe that Alexander

ander was come himselfe, and more of his ships at hande, then with strength of Mares, & great difficultie, they sette their Galley that was entangled loose againe and at libertie, making towardes their hauen with all the haste they might. Alexander immediately pursued them but when hee came to the hauen hee coulde not enter, but was beaten of with shotte from the walles, yet he did take and drown the more parte of their Galleyes. After this aduenture he rested his souldiours two dayes, and then willed his shippes to bee brought forwardes, and the engines in them, to the intente that by assayling the Tyrians on all sides, hee might put them in extreme feare. Alexander with a wonderfull courage, not without great perill of hys person, mounted vp into the toppe of a tower that was made in a shippe, and there knowne by his apparell and rich armour, was chiefly laid at, and shot to from all partes. He wrought wonderfull feates with his owne persone, for both with his pyke hee slewe diuers that stode at defence, and afterwards fought hand to hand with his sword and his Target, throwing diuers downe from their defence, for the Tower wherein he foughte ioyned harde to the walles. By that tyme the engynes called Arietes wyth much beatyng had striken downe the walles, the Nauie was got within the hauen, and certeine of the Macedons had wonne the towers. The Tyrians then

oppressed

oppressed with so manie miseries at once were cleane discomfited: Some fled for succour vnto the temples, some did shut their doores, taking that kinde of death they liked beste. And other ran vpon their enemies to sell their liues deere. But the more part got vp into the tops of their houses, and from thence did cast downe vppon their enemies whatsoeuer came to their hands. Alexander commaunded all to bee slaine without exception, sauing such as fled into the temples, and willed the houses to bee sette on fire. Though that were proclaimed throughout the Citie, yet there was none bearing armour that would saue themselues that way. For as the women and children filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, ready to abide the crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Sidonians were the occasion that manie were saued who seruing in the warres amongst the Macedons, and entering the Cittie with the reste, were mindfull of their affinitie with the Tyrians (Agenor beeing builder of both their Cities) and conueyed manie into their shippes, which they sent priuily vnto Sidon. By that meanes fiftéene thousand escaped the crueltie of ỹ sword. The number of them that were slain may partly be coniectured, in that there were found dead within the Citie fiue thousand of such as bare armour. The kinges wrath towardes the Citie made the sight dolorous vnto the victorers. For two thousand whome the furie of the slaughter had

had left alive, were afterwardes hanged vppon crosses along the Sea coast. The Embassadors of the Carthagens were saued, but they threatned to make warre against them, from ỹ which he was then letted by other businesse he had in hande. Thus Tyre was taken the vij. moneth after it was besieged, a Cittie notable to the posteritie, as wel through the antiquitie it was of, as also by the often chaunge of fortune that it had suffered. It was builded by Agenor, and manie yeeres was maister of the Seas, not onely neere thereabout, but in all places whereas their nauies came. And if we list to credite ỹ fame, that Cittie was the first which either taught or learned letters. They builded Cities, and put in them inhabiters throughout ỹ more partes of the world, both Carthage in Affrike, Thebes in Boecia, and Gades in Spaine vpon the Occean. It is to bee thought that by reason of their free-course through all Seas, and by visiting manie straunge countreyes, they had occasion to chose out seates, to place their youth in, whereof they then abounded. Or els as some write, the inhabitours wearyed to dwell there by reason of many Earthquakes, were compelled of force to seeke out straunge dwelling places. But after many casualties that happened vnto Tyre, after the destruction newly renewed, and all things growne againe through long peace, remaineth nowe vnder the defence of the Romaines clemencie. About the same time A-

lexander receiued letters from Darius, where in at last hee was contented to name him king. His request was, that Alexander woulde receiue his daughter Sapteyne for his wife, with whome hee offred in dower all the countrey betweene Hellespont and the riuer of Alys, and woulde reserue to himselfe onely such kingdomes as lay from thence Eastward. And if peraduenture hee should sticke to receiue this offer, hee willed him to consider that fortune is not wont to continue long in one estate, and that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater enuy doth followe them. It was to be doubted, (he saide) least he exalted himselfe through some vayne and childish affection, like as birds vse to doe, whose naturall lightnes conuey them to the starres. For there was nothing more difficult in so young yeres, then to beare well such height and greatnes of fortune. He willed him also to consider, that there remained yet manie countries that he had not touched, & that he should not alwaies meete him in streightes, hauing to passe the Riuer of Euphrates, Tyger, Araxes, and Hydaspes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his dominion, and when he should come vnto the playnes hee shoulde bee ashamed of hys small number. Hee put hym in remembrance to weigh howe long it should bee ere he could passe Medea, Hircania, Bactria, and the Indians that bordered on the Occean sea. And likewise the Sogdians, and Arachosians of whom men haue none other knowledg then of their name, with other nations lying towards the mount Caucasus, & the riuer of Tanais. Though no man should lette him nor offer him battayle, yet hee shoulde growe in age (hee sayde) before hee coulde passe so many landes. In the latter ende, hee aduised him to call him no more forwardes, for he would come soone enough, and that to his destruction.

Alexander made aunswere to those letters by the messengers that brought them, in effect: that Darius offered to him that was none of his own, & made a proffer to giue that he had already lost. For Lydia, Ionia, Aeolides, and the coast of Hellespont, which he appointed in dower, were already becom the

rewards

rewardes of his victorie. And as for lawes and conditions, those were wont to bee giuen and appointed by the victours, & receiued of such as were ouercome. And if he were ignorant in which of those two estats he were in, that he should come of, and aduenture the battaile once again. For he was not ignorant (he said) before he passed the sea, howe Lydia and Cilicia were ouer small rewardes for the making of such a warre. But his determination was euer to subdue and bring vnder his subiection, both Percepolis the chiefe Citie of his kingdome, and also Bactria and Echatania, with the vttermost boandes of the Orient. He coulde flie no where but he was able to followe: and therfore counsailed him that he should leaue to feare him with Ryuers, which had learned howe to passe Seas.

Thus the kinges did write one to an other: and in the meane season the Rhodyans yelded their Citie and their hauen vnto Alexander, who committed the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the Countrey about Tyre vnto Philotas: Andromachus was made Parmenio his deputie in Caele Syria, from whence Alexander minding to sette forwards to the rest of his iourney, commaunded Ephestion that with his nauie hee should saile along the coast of Phenices, and so he came with his whole power to the Citie of Gaza. About the same time there was solempne triumphes and plaies at Isthmos, accustomed to be celebrated with the assemblie of all Greece. In the councell (as the wittes of the Greekes be sodaine) they decreed to send vij. Embassadors vnto Alexander for the carrying vnto him a crowne of golde in gratifiying the victory he had wonne, and the actes hee had done for the

sauegard and liberties of Greece, and yet a litle before they harkened how the fame went, and were ready to bend that way that fortune inclined. Alexander visited not in person all such countreys and Cities as refused to do their obedience vnto him, but made conquest of them by his deputies. For Cales toke Paphlagonia, Antigonus Liconia, and Balachrus ouercame Idarne Darius lieutenant, and wan Miletum. Amphitous & Egilochus with a nauie of a C. & lx. ships subdued all the Ilands betweene Asia & Achaia. And also by the consent of the inhabiters gotte Tenedon, which alwaies was acceptable to the Persians. They were at the point to haue gotten Scio, but that Pharnabasus Darius deputie hauing intelligence of the matter, did firste apprehende all such as were of this Macedons faction, & committed the Citie with a smal garrison to Appolodines and Athenagoras, ỹ were inclined to the Persians. Alexanders capitaines for all this continued the siege of the Citie still, not so much in trust of their owne strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Citie. In which point they were not deceiued. For through a sedition which did arise betweene Apollanides and the capitaines of the menne of warre, occasion was ministred to the Macedons to enter the Towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entred, thẽ the Citizens which before had deuised to rebell against the Persians, toke parte wyth

Amphi-

Amphiterus and Egilochus, so that the garrison of the Persians were slaine, and Pharnabasus with Appollonides and Anthenagoras taken prisoners. There were xij. galleyes taken with their souldiers & rowers, besides xxx. ships, and vessels of Pyrates, with three thousande Grecks that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Grecks furnished vp their own bands, and put the Pyrats to death, bestowing the rowers in their owne galleyes. It chaunced that Aristonicus the vsurper of Methina, ignorant of any such matter as was chaunced in the forepart of the night, came with certaine Pirates shippes to enter into the hauen, whom when the watch demaunded what he was, he saide, he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabasus. They aunswered he was at rest, & could not then be spoken withall, but it should be lawfull for him (they said) beeing their frend to enter into the hauen for that night, and speke with him when it was day. Aristonicus was ye first that entred, and the Pirates followed him. But whiles they placed their ships, the watchmen drewe the chaine againe ouer the hauen, and then called vp suche as laye there neere about, so that none of them durst resist, but were all taken prisoners, and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilocus. From thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene, which was kepte by Chares of Athens, with a garrison of twoo thousand Persians: but when he was not able

to endure the siege, he yelded vp the Citie, with composition to haue their liues saued, and to depart in sauegarde vnto Imbros. Darius dispairing of peace, which hee had procured both by his letters and Embassadours, gaue his minde to assemble a newe power, and freshlye to renue the warre. Therefore he commaunded the Capitaines and rulers of his men to assemble at Babylon, and that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, shoulde come thither with all the power he could make. The Bactrians be the moste hardiest people among those nations, vnciuill men, and much abhorring from the delicatenes of the Persians. For by reason that they border vpon ỳ Scithians, which be a warlike nation, they are accustomed to liue by theft and bee conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspected of treason, that hee would not be content with the second place, put Darius in great doubt: Who hauing an inkling that hee aspyred to bee king, feared onelye his treason, hauyng no other waye to bring his purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the wayes hee could to obteyne knowledge where Darius was become, and into what countrey he was gone. And yet could not get any intelligence, by reason of a custome among the Persians, which are wont with a marueylous facilitie to keepe close their princes secrets: in the vttering whereof neyther feare of death, nor hope of reward, can cause them bring forth

a worde. This was a goodly discipline that the kinges there had of old time vsed amongst their subiects, in punishing with losse of life the lauishnes of their tong, which is there more greeuously chastised then any other crime. For there is not in those partes any goodnesse loked for at anie mans handes, that hath not the gifte of secretnes, wherof nature hath giuen a facilitie in man. This was the cause that Alexander was ignoraunt of all thinges that his enemies did, & therfore continued his siege before Gaza. Betis was capitaine there, who was a man of notable fidelitie towards his Prince, which with a smal garrison defended the Citie that was of a large compasse. Wherefore Alexander perceiuing the aduauntage of the Situation, sette manye Mynes in hande. For the lightnes of the ground made the worke easie, hauing neither rockes nor stones to giue any impediment. They began their Mines on that side, where they within could not destroy them. And to auoid the suspection of any such worke in hande, caused an approch to bee made to the walles, with towers that hee had made of timber. But the ground would not serue for their carrying and remouing, by reason of the lowsenes of the sand, whereinto the wheeles sanke, and was the cause that the iointes of the towers brake asonder. About the conueiance of them manie were hurt, and as much trouble they had in withdrawing of them, as in setting them forwardes.

When he perceiued hee coulde not preuaile by that meanes, hee retired his menne againe for that time. But the nexte day he enuironed the Citie rounde about to giue the assaulte in euerie parte at once, and before he retourned out of his Campe, he made sacrifice after his countrey manner, requiring the aide of the Gods. It chaunced as hee was so doing, that a Rauen flying by, lette fall a clodde (which she caried in her clawes) vpon the kings head, where it brake and resolued in pieces. And the Rauen flew vnto the next tower, where her feathers were so entangled with pitch at her lighting, that she could not flie awaye, but was taken of the standers there abouts. This was thought a matter worthie wher-vpon the diuiners should consulte. For hee himselfe was not free from the superstition of such thinges. Therefore Aristander to whom he gaue most credit, did interprete the same to bee a signe of the destruction of that Citie, but yet there was some perill (hee saide) appeering towardes the kinges person: For which cause hee perswaded Alexander that hee should not goe about any enterprise that daye. Though it greeued him much ỹ one citie should be a staye and impediment vnto him for his free passage into Egypt, yet he obeied the pronostications, & caused all his men to retire. The enimies toke courage of their departure, thinking feare to haue ben ỹ cause why they came not forward sailed out of the Citie, and set vppon their tayle.

But

But they were more fierce in the beginnyng of the skirmish, then constant in the maintainyng of the same. For when they saw the Macedons turne about, they staied and pursued no further. Alexãder hearing the alarum, and remembring nothing the peril that was prophesied vnto him, at his friends request put on his harneis (which he was seldome accustomed to do) and resorted thither where the skirmish was most whote. There he was knowen by a certaine Arabian that was one of Darius souldiours, which toke vpon him a desperate enterprise to kill Alexander, and therefore making his pretence to be as a fugitiue from the Persians, kept his sword secret vnder his target, and fel down on his knees before him. Who iudging that he had fledde to him for succour, willed him to bee receiued amongst his owne men. But the Arabian therewithall strake at ỹ king with his sword, which he by a little stepping aside, auoyded from his throate, and cut of the Arabians hand that missed of his stroke. Alexander then iudged that hee had cleane escaped the peril that should haue chaunced to him that day, but (as I thinke) destinie cannot be auoided: for whiles he was eger to fight amongst the foremost, he was striken with an arrowe, which passed thorowe his Corselet, and did sticke in his shoulder. Phillip his phisition did plucke it out, and great abundance of bloud did follow, whereof euery man was afraid, for so much as they neuer sawe an

arrow

arrow passe so farre thorowe any armour before. But he neuer chaunged countenance nor colour, but causing ỹ bloud to bee stanched, and his wound to be wrapt vp, continued still in the skirmish amongst the foremost, either suffering or dissemblyng his payne and dolour. But when the bloud that was stayed for the tyme brast out agayne, and the wound which for the newnesse grieued him not much, began to swell and rankle as the bloud wared colde, then he began to faynt and fall downe, and was taken vp by such as were next him, and caried into his tent. Betis that perceyued this, supposing him to be slayne, retired vnto the Citie againe with great ioy and triumph. But Alexanders wound beyng yet vnhealed, he caused a mounte to be cast vp as high as the toppe of the walles, and the walles to be cast downe in diuers places by the Myners. But they within made a countermure as high as the olde walle: yet that coulde not stretche to the height of the towers made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes of the city were subiect to shotte. But a mine whereat the wall was ouerthrowñ, and a breach made wherewith the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of the towne, wheras Alexander pressing on amongest the foremost adnenērously, had his leg hurt with a stone. That not withstanding, he mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wound yet closed) & fought amongst the formost, being in a great fury, that

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in the siege of that one citie, he had receiued two woundes. Betis that had fought notably, and receiued diuers hurts, was forsaken of his own men, and yet notwithstandyng, mainteined still the fight, and had all his armour embrued with his owne bloud and his enemies. But when he was enclosed round about, then Alexãder which was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, sayde vnto him: Betis, thou sha't not dye as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatsoeuer torments may bee inuented, thinke that thou shalt suffer them. For all his wordes there appeared in Betis no token of feare, but beheld the kyng with an arrogant countenaunce, and would not answere him one worde. Then Alexander sayde: see you not how obstinate he is to holde his peace? hee would not kneele, nor once desire mercy. But gronyng shall breake his silence, if nothyng els can doe it. Thus his fortune altering his nature, changed him into strãge maners, & turned his wrath into wodnes. For he causing cordes to be put through Betis fete whiles he was aliue, did drawe him about the city with horses, glorying in that he did counterfeit Achilles (of whõ he was descended) in afflicting of his enemy. There were slain of the Persiãs & Arabiãs x.M. & the victory was not vnbloudy to the Macedones. This siege was not so famous thorow the nobilitie of the Citie, as it was by the double daunger the king was in: Which making

king

king hadde to passe into Egypt, sent Amyntas with tenne Gallies into Macedon to leuie moze souldiers. For though he were alwayes victozer in prosperous battailes, yet his men were diminished, and he trusted not so much to the souldiours of those countries he had subdued, as he did to his owne nation. Egyptians be a people that always were offended with the increase of good foztune of the Persians, who in their gouernement ouer them, vsed much pride and couetousnes. And therfoze seeking all occasions to reuolt, had receiued Amyntas, which came to them rather by way of treatie then by any foyce: & now specially at Alexanders commyng plucked vp their spirites, and assembled a great number to mete him at Pelusium, where they iudged hee would enter. The seuenth day he remoued frõ Gaza, he came to that place in Egypt, which now is called Alexanders campe, from whence he sent his army vnto Pelusium by the lande way, and he himselfe with a choise band of men was conueied thither vpon the riuer of Nile. The Persians durst not abide his comming, being in doubt that the Egyptians would reuolt. And therefoze when Alexander drewe neere vnto Memphis, where Asaces Darius lieutenant was with a power of men of warre, he came ouer the Riuer to mete Alexander, and yelded himselfe, deliuered him viij. C. talents, with all the riches belonging to the king of Persia. Frõ Memphis he passed vpon the same Riuer vnto

the

the inward partes of Egypt, and set a stay and order in the gouernemēt of the countrey in such sort, that he changed nothing of their lawes and customes. Which thing once brought to passe, he had a great desire to visite the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon. But it was declared vnto him that ẏ way he had to goe was not passable with any great number, and that those ought to bee trimmed, méete to iourney without baggage or much cariage. The countrey he had to trauaile thorow, was said to be spred ouer all with barreine sand, which once put in an heate with the sunne, would burne their féete in such sort, that it should be intollerable for thē to iourney. And had to contend not onely with the heate ẏ want of water, but also with the rouling sand, which was so déepe, and would so sinke vnder their féete, that it should be great impediment vnto their trauaile. All which difficulties the Egyptians set forth to be greater then they were in déede. But Alexander, for the desire he had to erect mans estate, was so feruently bent to visite that famous Oracle of Iupiter, whom either he beléeued, or coueted that other should beléeue to be his father, that nothing could stay him in performing that enterprise. Therfore with such as he had appointed to accompany him in the iourney, passed by water vpon Nile, til he came to the Meare of Meotes. The embassadours of the Cireniās came to him thither, and brought him presents, whom he gently entertained, assuring

ſuring them of his friendſhip. And that done, went forwardes in his voyage. The firſt and the ſecond dayes trauaile ſeemed tollerable, not beyng yet come to the barraine and wilde wilderneſſe, and yet the ground they paſſed on was but vnfruitfull and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared that were couered ouer with deepe ſande, they then loked and ſought a farre off with their eyes for the land, euen as men be accuſtomed to doe when they ſaile in the maine Sea. For they could not iudge themſelues on land, where they neuer ſaw tree nor any appearance of habitation or haunt of men. And water there was none to be found in that dry and burnyng ſand. and ſuch as they had brought with them in bottels vpon camels backes, was conſumed and ſpent. Beſides, the ſunne was ſo hote that it dryed and burned vp all thinges. When they were afflicted after this maner, whither it were by the will of God, or by chãce, the cloudes ſodainly ouerwhelmed the ſky, and ſo ſhadowed them, that it was great comfort to ſuch as were forwearied with the heate, though they wanted water to drinke. But to ſupply their lacke therein, there fell by and by a great ſhower, which euery man (for the great deſire they had to driuke) gaped to receiue with open mouth. When they had trauailed foure dayes in paſſing of theſe wild deſerts, and were come nere vnto the place of the oracle, there appeared a great ſwarme of crowes flying lowe

before

before the troupe, and when the hoste marched softly, they sate downe vpon the ground, and sometyme flew forwardes, as they had bene guides to shewe vnto the army the way. At length they came vnto the place consecrate vnto Iupiter, where it was a wonder to see in the the midst of so wilde a desert, such a ground so enuironed on all partes with high trees, defending the heat of the sunne, and such a number of springs runnyng euery where: which cause the woodes alwayes to looke greene. The Aire there all seasons of the yere is like vnto the Spring tyme, holesome and temperate to liue in. This countrey doth border with the Ethiopes towards the East, & vpon the Arabies ỹ they call Troglodites vpon the South: whose countrey stretched to the red sea. It cõfirmeth with other Ethiopes that he called Simmos. Towards the North lieth a natiõ called Nasamõs, who inhabiting vpõ a flat shore, be accustomed to liue on spoiles of the sea, & lie alwayes in a waite vpon the coast to spoile such ships as suffer wrecke. The people which inhabite about the wood, bee called Ammonians, & dwel in cotages scattered abroad. The midst of their wood closed about wt a triple wall, is vnto thẽ as a Castle. In the first ward is the pallace of their ancient kings, in the second their wiues, children & concubines were lodged, in which place the Oracle of Iupiter is also. And the third is appointed a place for the men of warre. There is also an other Wood

hauing

hauing in the middeſt a ſpring called the fountaine of the ſunne, which in the morning is luke warme, in the heate of the day it is cold, and in the euening warme again: ſo that at midnight it is ſcalding hote, and as it draweth towardes day, it diminiſheth his heate more and more.
The ſame thing that is worſhipped for Jupiter hath not the ſimilitude of other images that craftesmen do make for gods, but is very lyke vnto the faſhion of a Nauel, hauing in the middeſt an Emerauld ſet about with perles. When any anſwere is required, the prieſts carrie the ſame in a ſhip of gold, that hath many plates of ſiluer hanging on both ſides. The matrones and the virgins follow after ſinging a rude ſong after their countrey maner, whereby they beléeue to obteine of Jupiter to ſhew his Oracle manifeſt and true. When Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldeſt of the prieſts which came to méete him, ſaluted him by the name of Jupiters ſonne: for ſo (he ſayd) his minde was that he ſhould be called. Whereupon Alexander forgetting the ſtate of his mortalitie, ſayde: that he both did receiue and acknowledge the name. Then he demaunded further, if the empire of ỹ whole world were apointed to him by deſtinie. There the Prophet prepared before to flattery anſwered: that the whole worlde ſhould come vnder his obeiſaunce. After that he demaunded whether all ſuch had ſuffered death that murthered his father. The prieſt anſwered, that his

father

father could not be harmed by the treason of any man, but he saide: that all Philips killers wer put to death. And one thing he added more: that he should be inuincible till such tyme as he should depart to the gods. Thereupon Alexander made sacrifice, and both offered vnto the idoll, and gaue great giftes vnto the priestes. He licenced also his friendes that they might consult of the Oracle, for such things as they would demaund. Yet they enquired no further: if it were Jupiter his will, that they should worship their king with diuers honours. To thē it was answered: that if they honoured their prince being victorer as a god, it should be acceptable vnto Jupiter. If he had with iudgement wayed the Oracle according to the veritie, hée should haue wel perceiued the vntruth that was therin: but whom fortune hath brought to beléeue in her, she maketh them many tymes more desirous of glory, then able to receiue it. Alexander not onely suffred, but also commanded himselfe to be called the sonne of Jupiter, and whiles hée went about to encrease the fame of his actes, he did corrupt and deface them through such vaine titles. Whereby the Macedons accustomed to be gouerned by kings, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of liberty thē other natiōs, did withstand him more arrogantly in affecting of his immortality, then was either expedient for him or thē: but these things shalbe declared in tyme conuenient: For now I will procéede in the rest

of his doinges. When Alexander was returned from Hammon, and come to the marish of Mareotes, situate nére vnto the Isle of Pharos, viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to build a Cittie within the Island. But afterwardes considering the Isle not to bee large inough, chose out the grounde where Alexandria is nowe (called by the name of the builder) conteining all that grounde betwéene the Meare and the Sea, the which was in compasse as the walles went lxxx. furlonges. When hee had taken order for building of this Citie, leauing such behinde him as he had appointed for the performance thereof, departed vnto Memphis. Hée had a desire (not vnreasonable if it had béene in time conuenient) to haue visited both the inward partes of Egypt, and also Ethiopia. And the affection he had to viewe antiquities, and the famous places of Memnon and Tyton, had néere drawne him beyonde the bounds of the sunne. But the warres he had in hande beeing of much more moment then anye such idle peregrination, gaue him no time to fulfill his phantasie. Therefore he appointed Aestilus a Rhodian, and Peucestes a Macedon, to ỳ gouernaunce of Egypt, assigning to them foure M. souldiers for defence of the region, and gaue Polymen xxx. Galleyes to kéepe the mouth of Nile. He made Appolonius ruler of that part of Affrike, which ioineth vnto Egipt, and Cleomines receiuer of the tributes in both countreyes.

This

This newe Citie was sone replenished with a great multitude, for commaundement was giuen to all the Cities thereabouts, to sende inhabiters vnto Alexandria. It is said that when the king (according to the Macedons custome) vsed the ceremonie of steeping barly, at the making of the walles, that the byrdes came and fedde there-vpon: which being taken of manie for an vnluckie token: it was aunswered by their diuiners, that there should be great resort of strangers to the Citie, and that it should giue nourishment to many landes. As the King wente downe the Riuer of Nyle, Hector (Parmenio his sonne) desirous to follow him, was drowned for the vessell sunke that carryed him, being pestered with ouer many men. He striued long wᵗ the streame: but his garmentes gaue impediment to his swimming, so that his breath was neere gone before he could recouer ẏ shore, wher for want of succour he died. Whose infortunate chaunce Alexander toke greeuously, as one that did beare him speciall fauour, and therefore caused his body to be honourably buried. The death of Andromachus Lieutenant of Siria, whome the Samaritans had burned, was the encrease of Alexanders sorrowe, for the reuengement whereof he made all the haste he might, and at his comming into Samaria had the authours of the acte deliuered into his handes, whome he put to death, and then placed Memnon in Andromachus rowme. Hee deliuered into the

Bethinians handes, Aristonicus, and Crisolaus, that had vsurped amongst them, whom they after many grieuous tormentes did hang ouer their walles. That done, he gaue audience to the Embassadours of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Sciots. The Athenians did gratifie vnto him his victory, and required that such Grekes as were taken prisoners, might be restored to liberty. The Rhodians and the Sciots demaunded assistance of some garison: he granted to them all their requestes, and restoryng to the Bytelens all their pledges, encreased their territorie and dominion in respect of the fidelitie they shewed vnto him, and the money they had employed in the warres. He gaue honour also according to their deseruings vnto the kinges of Cypres, which reuolted from Darius vnto him, and had ayded him with ships at the siege of Tyre. Amphoterus his Admiral had cõmission to driue the Persiãs out of the Isle of Crete, but specially that he should ridde the seas of the Pirates, which troubled and spoiled all the Ilands, whiles these two princes conuerted their powers one against an other. When he had giuen order to all these things, he did dedicate to Hercules at Tyre, a great standing peece, and xxx. bowles of gold. That done, he set his whole minde and care vpon Darius, causing it to bee proclaimed that euery man should set forwards towards Euphrates. But Darius vnderstanding that his enemy was gone through Egypt

into

into Affrike, stode in doubt whether he should stay about Mesopotamia, or withdraw into the inward partes of his kingdome: iudging that he should be able to worke with those farre nations in bringing of them forwards to ẏ warres, that his licuetenãt should not be able to do. Yet when the fame had published, and he vnderstod by assured aduertisement, that Alexander was returned out of Egypt, and fully resolued to follow him with all his power into what countrie so euer he should go, he then gaue order that the force of all the farre nations should drawe towards Babilon, knowing the stoutnes of his enemy he had to match withall. Thither resorted both Bactrians, Scithians, and Indians: for the power of other countries were come thither before. And hauing the double number of men that he had before in Cilicia, prepared armour for them with diligence, whereof many of them had want. Both the horsmen and the horses were armed with plates of stæle. Such as before had no weapons but dartes, had swordes and bucklers giuen to thẽ more. And to encrease the power of his horsemen, he deliuered many horses to be broken amongst ẏ fotemen. He had prepared also CC. wagõs set with hookes, which in those countries were estemed things of great force, & iudged to be of a wonderful terror to the enemy: they were made wᵭ great long pikes sticking out before, & with swords set ouerthwart on both sides. The wheles were also ful of iron

pikes right forth, and of great hookes both vpward & downeward, wherewith all thing was cut asonder that came in their way. When his people was thus furnished of armour, & had prouided sufficiently for the wars, he remooued frō Babilon, and keping the Riuer of Tiger on his right hand, & Euphrates on his left hande, ouerspread with his armie all the plaines of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tiger, and vnderstanding that his enemy was comming at hand first sente Satropaces before with a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwards appointed six thousand to Mazees, to stop Alexander the passage of the Riuer. Who had also in commission to waste & burne all the countrey where he iudged that his enemies shoulde come, thinking to famish them for want of victuals, considering y they had no other prouision but such as they got by rauine & by stealth: they themselues hauing plenty brought both by land, and by the riuer of Tiger. At length he came to a village called Arbella, which was afterwards famous by reason of his ouerthrow. There he left the chiefe furniture of his victualles and carriage, and made a bridge ouer the riuer of Licus, & in fiue days conueied ouer his armie, as he had done before ouer Euphrates, passing forwards from thence about foure score furlonges. He came to an other Riuer called Boumello, and there encamped. The countrey serued wonderfull well for the araunging of his battailes in the large playnes, passable

sable for horses euerie where, and without stubbes, or shorte brush to couer the ground withall, hauing so free a prospecte, that the eye might discerne thinges a great way off. And if there appeered anye hilles within the plaine, Darius caused the same to be cast down, and the ground to bee made smooth. Such as by coniecture made reporte to Alexander of Darius power, could not be credited, for he could not think after so manie slaine there could be a greater power gathered togither then he had before. But he that neuer doubted any peril, and much lesse the multitude of men, after the eleuenth encamping, came to the Riuer of Euphrates, ouer the which hee made bridges, passing ouer his horsemen, and afterwardes his fotemen. For Mazeus that was sent against him with fiue thousād horsemen to let his passage, durst not encounter with him. When he had continued there a few daies, not onely to reste his souldiers, but also to confirme their mindes, and to encourage them, he sette forwardes stoutly against his enemie, fearing that they would haue retired backe into the inwarde parts of Persia, whither he should haue beene enforced to followe by waste places and wilde deserts. Therefore the fourth day hee passed by Arbella, and came to the Riuer of Tiger. All the countrey beyond the Riuer was on a smoke, newly sette on fier by Mazeus, who burned all thinges where hes came euen as hee had been an enemy. Alexander at ẏ first by reasō

of the darkenes of the ſmoke, ſtayed for feare of
embuſhments. But when they which were ſent
to ſcoure the countrey, reported that all thyng
was cleare, he apointed a few horſemē to proue
the paſſage of the riuer, who found the deepenes
at the firſt entrie to come to the horſebreſt, and
in the midſt of the ſtreame to the horſeneckes.
There is no riuer in all the Eaſt part of the
world, that runneth ſo violently, which beſides
the waters of other riuers that doe run into it,
driueth downe ſtones with the ſtreame, ſo that
of his ſwiftnes it was called Tigre, which in ỹ
Perſian tongue is ſo much to ſay, as an arrow.
The ſoldiers therfore deuided into two bands,
holdyng their armour ouer their heads, were
encloſed on both ſides with the horſemen, and
ſo paſſed till they came in the deepe of the
Chanell, without any great difficultie. The
kyng was the firſt amongeſt the ſoldiemenne
that paſſed ouer to the further ſyde, who with
his hande (ſeeing his voyce could not be heard)
ſhewed the ſhallowe place vnto the Souldi-
oures. But they had much payne to keepe
their footyng by reaſon of ſtones, whereup-
pon they ſtumbled, and of the violence of the
water that toke their feete away. Such as
caried burthens on their backs had the greateſt
trauel, which not being able to ſtay themſelues
by reaſon of the trouble of their carriage were
borne downe by violence of the Streame.
And whiles euery man went about to recouer

againe his owne, there fel greater strife among themselues, then they had with the stream. And the heapes of fardels that fleeted euerie where vpon the water bare downe manie. The king cried to them ỹ it was sufficient to kẽp their armour, and let the rest goe, promising to recompence euerie man. But they neither followed his counsaile, nor did as he commaunded them. For besides the noyse that was amongst them, feare filled their eares, as they were swimming and wading through the water. At length wher the streame was most shallow they came forth, there beeing nothing miscarried or wanting amongst them all, sauing a fewe fardels. If their enemies had made but a proffer against them, they might easily haue been put to distresse. But Alexanders continual good fortune turned then his enemies away from him. With which fortune hee passed the Riuer of Granike, when so manie thousands both of horsemen and footmen kept the passage against him. After that sort hee ouercame the multitudes of his enemies in the straits of Cilicia. Though his boldnes was such that it sometime wanted praise, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out of all extreame perill. If Mazeus had done his part, and sette vpon them as they were passing the Riuer, he might easily haue put them to distresse, beeing vnarmed and out of order. But after the Macedons had armed themselues (beeing then too late, hee began to shewe himselfe with a thousand horsemen.

When Alexander perceiued the small number that came against him, hee caused Ariston the Capitaine of the Peonians to giue a ful charge vpon them. The horsemen that day notably behaued thēselues, but in especiall Ariston, which with his his speare ranne Satropases the chief capitaine through the throte, & pursuing him in to the midst of his troupe, threwe him from his horse, & cut of his head, which to his great commendation he brought and threw downe before the king. Alexander taried there two daies, and against the morning caused warning to bee geuen by proclamation for his setting forwardes. But in the first watch of the night, the Moone suffred Eclipse, which loosing her brightnes, afterwards became as red as bloud, & therewith waxed dim and darke. The straungenes of this matter did strike a religious feare amongst the Macedons, whereof proceeded such a doubt and dread, that they fell into a murmure & grudging that they should be brought forwards after such a manner against the will of the Gods, into the vttermost boundes of the earth, whereas they were not able to passe the Riuers, nor could not enioy the accustomed vse of the Elementes, finding nothing but waste groundes and wilde desertes: all which was done (they saide) for the ambition of one man, for whose vaine glorie the bloud of so many thousandes shoulde bee shedde. He despiseth (quoth they) his country, hee hath forsaken Philip for his Father, and

affected

affected heauen in his folish imagination. Whē Alexander perceiued the matter to come to a mutteriug, hee that in all thinges was without feare, commaunded the chiefe Rulers and Capitaines of his men of warre to assemble at his pauileon, and there commaunded the Astronomers of the Egyptians (whome hee iudged to haue most vnderstanding in the Planets) to declare their opinions. They vnderstanding verie well the reuolutions of the time, and their appointed courses, knewe that the Moone did euer eclipse, when that either she went vnderneath the earth, or els when her light was blemished by oppositiō of the sunne, which reason conceiued amongst themselues, they accustomed not to teach the people. But affirmed that the Greekes were vnder the aspecte of the Sunne, and the Persians vnder the Moone: and therefore so often as the Moone fayleth of her light, it signifieth great destruction to the Nations vnder that constellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs, they brought in olde presidents of the kinges of Persia, to whom the Eclipse of the Moone had signified, that the Goddes were against them in fighting of their battailes. There is nothing more effectuall then superstition to gouerne a multitude, which otherwise is without rule, mad, & mutable. But when they haue once conceyued a Religion, though it bee but vaine: they bee more obedient to their diuiners then to their capitaines. Which thing might be

well

well perceiued, when the aunſweres of the Egyptians were ſpread abroad amongſt the people. For they ſtreight waies were remoued frō their dulnes and deſpaire, and ſtirred vp to hope and confidence. Alexander therefore that coulde vſe the time, and employ his ſouldiers in their good mode, in the ſecond watch remoued his campe, keeping Tiger on his right hand, and the mountaines which they call Gordeies on hys left hande. By the ſpring of the daye the ſcoutes that he ſent before to diſcouer, returned to hym with report that Darius was comming. Then the ſouldiers prepared themſelues to the fight, and marched forwards in order of battaile. But thoſe that diſcouered for the Perſians, were but a thouſand horſemen, which keeping the ſcout a farre of, ſeemed to the Macedons to be a great armie. The ſcoutes commonly haue that propertie, tht when they cannot find out the truth they imagine through feare, things that be falſ. When Alexander vnderſtood the certeintie, hee ſent out towardes them a ſmall number of hys owne horſemen: at whoſe comming they fled, and were partly ſlaine, and partly taken priſoners. That done, he ſent horſemen as wel to diſcouer further, as alſo to quench the fire which the Perſians had made through all the countrey. For as they fledde away, they put fire in the roſes of their houſes, and the ſtacks of corn, which ſone toke holde aboue, and conſumed all till it came to the ground. By extinguiſhing of

thoſe

those tiers, great plenty of corne was found, and aboundance of all other things ensued amongst the Macedons. That was a matter that encouraged the souldiers greatly to pursue their enemies. For they doubting least they should burne and consume all such thinges as might serue to their vse: pursued them with all the spéede they could make: wisedome growing of necessitie. For Mazeus which before did burne the countrey at leysure, whē he saw himself pursued, fled away, & left vnto the Macedons the more parte vntouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius drewe towards him, and was come within an hundred and fiftie furlonges, made prouision of victuals, & remained foure dayes in the same place. Darius letters were there intercepted, which he had written to the Grèeks, in perswasion either to kill or betray Alexander. He doubted whether he should recite the same letters openly or no, hauing no mistrust of their beneuolence and affection towardes him. But Parmenio dissuaded the putting of any such promise into the Souldiers heades, considering that the committing of such an act consisteth in one mās hande, and that couetousnes neuer iudged anye thing vnlawfull. Hee followed Parmenio his counsaile, and so remoued his campe. As they were marching, one of the Eunuches of Darius wife brought worde how she fainted, & was in great peril of death. For she in very deed was so wearied with continual trauaile of her iour-

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ney and care of minde, that she fell downe in a swowne betweene her mother in lawe, and her young daughter, & so died. Yee had not so soone tolde the tale, but an other came with tidinges that she was dead in deede: whereat Alexander was no lesse sorrowfull, then if his own mother had been in the same case: and weeping no lesse then Darius should haue done, repaired to the tent where Darius mother was sitting by the dead bodie. There his sorrowe renued when hee sawe her lye prostrate vpon the grounde: who by the chaunce that presently fell, beeing put in remembrance of her aduersitie by-past, embraced in his armes Darius y. daughters, a comfort to her in their mutuall dolour, but that she was enforced to comfort them. Yer young nephewe stood in her presence, the more to bee pitied, because that for his youth, he yet vnderstoode not the calamitie that was growing towards him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wept for his owne cause, which lamented, and would receiue no comforte, but abstained from meat, & reserued all honor to be done to the dead corps, after the countrey custome of the Persians. Worthy he was thereby to receiue the due reward of such his meekenes and continencie. Ye had onely seene her once before, which was the day of her taking, and then came not to visite her, but Darius mother. The excellencie of her beautie was no prouokement to him of lust but of glory. Of those Eunuches that were a-

bout

bout the Quéene, ther was one Tiriotes, which during this mourning and lamentation, escapéd by a gate that was vnwarded, and fled vnto the Persians campe, where he was by the watchmen brought to Darius presence. When Darius sawe him lamenting and tearing of his clothes, hee was in a wonderfull expectation what his sorrowe shoulde bee, doubting what thing he might feare moste. Thy countenance (quoth hee) declareth that some great mischiefe is happened. Take héed thou concealest nothing from my miserable eares. I haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is often tymes a comfort of a mans calamitie to knowe his mishappe. Is it not the misusing of my wife and children that thou wouldest tell mee? which is the thing I suspect moste, and feare to vtter, and (as I beléeue) is more gréeuous vnto thē then any kind of torment. Nothing lesse (quoth Tiriotes) the same honour that was giuen to them by your Subiectes, the like is vsed by him that is victourer. But your Wife is the cause of my amazement, which is euen nowe dead. When that word was once spoken, there was nothing else heard but lamentation and howling throughout the campe. And Darius could not be otherwise perswaded but that she was slain, because she woulde not consente to her misusement, & in ỹ vehemencie of his sorow cried out. O Alexander, what so great an offence haue I committed against thée: whom of thy kindred haue I slain

that

that thou shouldst requite me with this cruelty? Thou hast done it without any prouokement of my parte. But be it so that thou dost moue a iust war against me yet is it thy part therefore to keepe war with women? Tyriotes therefore did sweare by the Gods immortall, that there was no kind of villanie done vnto her, but that Alexãder lamented her death and wepte no lesse then he himselfe would haue done. Those wordes did driue him into a further suspition and iealousie, coniecturing that Alexanders behauiour therein, had risen vpon the familiar conuersation had betwixt them. Therfore he auoiding all persons from him, sauing only Tyriotes, and leauing his weeping, but yet sobbing for sorrowe, saide vnto him: Thou seest nowe Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place: tormentes streightwaies shall bee brought before thée. I requeste thée therefore, if any reuerence of thy prince remaine within thy heart, tell mée without compulsion ỹ thing ỹ I desire to know and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of the age that he is, & hauing her in his handes, that he should not attempt her? Tyriotes offered himselfe to bee racked in triall of the cause, and called the Gods to witnesse, that shee was neuer vsed but chastly and reuerently. At length when hee was once perswaded that his wordes were true, hée couered his face wéeping a longe space, and after-wardes (the teares yet distilling downe his chéekes, vncouered hys face, and holding vp his handes to heauen, said:

O you Gods that I do worship, I require you thefly to establish this kingdome vnto my selfe: but if yee haue determined my ruine and decay, then my request is that none may raigne as king in my dominion, but euē he that is so iust an enemy, & so mercifull a victorer. And therfore, though he had twise before required peace at Alexanders handes, and preuayled not, but had conuerted all his minde towardes the warres: yet he was then so ouercome with the continencie of his enemy, that he sent tenne of the chiefest of his bloud as Embassadours to treate with him vpon conditions of peace. Alexander calling a councell, gaue them presence, to whome the eldest spake in this wise.

That Darius hath now the third time demaunded peace of you, no power hath compelled him, but your iustice and continencie hath inoued him. He should not perceiue that eyther his mother, wife, or children were prisoners, sauing for want of their companie, you taking care of their chastities, which remaine on liue like a Father. You giue to them the honour appertayning and suffer them to continue in their former estate. I see that dolorousnes in your face, that I sawe in Darius when I parted from him, and yet he doth mourne for his wife, and you for your enemy. And if the care of hir buriall had not beene, you had nowe stande in battayle in readines to fight. Is it any maruell therefore if hee require peace of such a one, that is so freendly disposed towardes him? What shall they need to contend with armes, betweene whom there remaineth no hatred. In his former treatie he offred y the Riuer of Halis which boundeth vpon Lydia, shoulde bee the cōfines of your Empire: but nowe he proffereth you in Dower with his daughter to be deliuered out of hand all those cuntreies that lye betweene Hellespont and Euphrates. For the performaunce of which his promise, and for the obseruing of peace, Ochus his sonne, now in your possession shall be the pledge for his parte. His request is to haue his mother and his twoo Daughters re-

ſtored vnto him, for which three you ſhall receiue thirtie thouſand Talents, Except I knewe the moderation that is in you, I would not be ſo bolde to ſay that this is a time wherin you ought not onely to graunt peace, but alſo to ſeeke for it your ielfe. Looke back and beholde what a great thing you leaue behinde you, and foreſee howe much it is that you couet before you. Ouer great an Empire is daungerous. And it is hard to holde that you be not able to receiue. Doe you not ſee that thoſe ſhippes which be of exceeding greatneſs, can not well be gouerned? Iudge that to be the cauſe that Darius loſt ſo much, becauſe that ouer much is the occaſion of much loſſe. It is more facil to get many thinges, then to keepe a few. How much more eaſily do our handes catch then holde ſtill? The verie death of Darius wife nowe doth ſhewe, that you haue not ſo great occaſion to ſhewe mercy as you had before.

The Embaſſadours were remoued vnto an other place, and hee debated in counſell his opinion. It was long before any durſt vtter what they thought, becauſe they were vncertain how the king was inclined. At length Parmenio ſpake and ſaide:

My opinion was euer that the priſoners taken at Damaſco ſhould haue been deliuered to ſuch as would redeeme them, wherby a great ſumme of mony might haue been made of them, which now remaining in captiuitie, periſheth in the hands of many a man of ſeruice. And nowe I thinke moſt neceſſary of all, that you exchange for xxx. Talentes of golde, this olde woman and the yong damoſels, which bee but impedimentes and diſturbances to you in your iourneyes. Heere is a rich Realme to be gotten by treaty without any hazard of battaile. For there was neuer none before you (quoth he) that was Lorde of all the countrey in length and breadth lying betweene Iſter and Euphrates. Hee willed him therefore rather to haue reſpecte towardes Macedonia, then to looke forwardes towards Bactria and the Indians.

His

His wordes liked not the king, and therfore so sone as Parmenio had made an ende of his tale, he made him this aunswere.

And if I were Parmenio, I would rather desire money then glorie. But nowe seeing I am Alexander, I am not in any doubt of pouerty, and haue consideracion that I am a king, and no merchaunt. I haue nothing whereof I will make sale, and much lesse sel my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuer the prisoners, it were much better to giue them freely, then to raunsome them for money.

Hereupon he called the Embassadours, and and aunswered them in this sort.

Shewe you to Darius that giuing of thankes is but waste to a mannes enemie, and let him not thinke, that I haue had any respecte to his frendship in those things that I haue done of mine owne clemencie and liberalitie. Nor lette him not impute the same in anye wise towardes himselfe, but to the inclination of myne owne nature: and that I contend not against mens calamities, but against the force of mine enemies. I vse not to make warre with women and prisoners, for hee must be armed, to whom I shall shew my hatred. And though it were so in deede, that he meant good faith in his peace asking, yet peradventure I would aduise me before I would consent. But seeing that at some time he hath by his letters prouoked my souldiers to betray me, and at other times stirred vp my frends with money to my destruction: I must pursue him to the vttermost, not as a righteous enimy, but as one that worketh his things by treason. If I should accept the cōditions of peace that you doe bring, I should acknowledge him to be victorer, which liberally doth giue mee all that is behinde the Riuer of Euphrates, not considering in what place I speake nowe vnto you. Haue you forgotten that I am passed the Riuer of Euphrates, and encamped beyond the bounds ye proffer me in Dower? Driue mee from hence that I may know the same to bee yours, wherewith you would enfeoffe me. He proffereth me his daughter with no greater liberalitie then hee would doe to one of his seruauntes.

Doth he thinke to doo me a pleasure, in preferring mee to bee his sonne in Lawe before Mazeus: Goe shewe this to your king, that both the thing he hath lost, and the thing he hath yet in possession, shall be vnto me rewardes of the warre, which warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires, and by the fortune of battaile we shall fight to morrowe, appoint to ech of vs our limittes, Let him knowe, that I came not into Asia to receiue, but to giue. If he would haue beene content to haue beene second person, and not coueted to bee equall with me, I would peraduenture haue graunted his request. But as two Sunnes cannot shine on the earth at once, so likewise such two great kingdomes can not bee at one time, without the subuersion of the world. Therefore let him either this day yeelde himselfe, or els prepare against the morrows fight, nor let him not perswade himselfe to haue other fortune then he hath proued already.

The Embassadors replied: that seeing he was resolued to proceed with warre, he did royally in that he was plaine, and did not feed them forth with hope of peace. Their request was therfore that they might bee dispatched to their Prince, to warne him to prepare himself likewise. Whē they returned, thei brought word that ther was no way, but to prepare for the fight. Wherefore Darius sente Mazeus out of hande with three thousand horsemen to keepe the passages, where by the Macedons should passe. When Alexander had performed the funeralles of Darius wife, leauing with a small garrison all such as were vnprofitable for the fighte, within the strength of his campe, sette forwardes towards his enemies. His footemen were deuided into two battailes, empayled with horsemen on both

both sides, and his carriage wente in the midst. He sent Medinas with horsmen vpon the spurs to discouer where Darius was: Who cõming within the view of Mazeus, durst not passe any further, but brought reporte that he could heare nothing but the noyse of menne, and neighing of horses. Mazeus likewise discouered them, & returned backe to Darius, declaring that his enemies were comming: Then Darius (whose desire was to encoũter with his enemies in the plaine and open fieldes) commaunded his men to be armed, and deuided them into two parts, whereof the one marched on the left hande, and the other on the right. In the battaile on the left hande, a M. of the Bactrian horsemen had the first place, with the like number of the Dahans and iiy. M. Arachosians & Susians, after which band of horsmen there followed a C. hoked wagons, and behinde them Bessus with an other band of viy. M. Bactrian horsemen, and y. thousand Massagets. The fotmen of diuers nations came nexte in order of battaile, not mixed togither, but ech countreymen by themselues. Ariobarzanes and Orybates had the gouernment of the Persians, Mardians, and Sogdians. But their charge was deuyded, and Orsines that was come of the seuen Persians, and of the bloud of noble kyng Cirus had the rule of the whole. Other nations followed, whose names were scarcely knowne to their owne companie. Cradatus was the nexte, which hauing also af-

tie hoked wagons, placed a bande of Caspian horsemen before them, and behind them the Indians, and other the inhabiters of the redde sea, rather names of menne then good assistaunce. This square was empailed with fifty wagons, vnto the which the Mercenary souldiers were ioyned. After them followed the menne of Armenia the lesse, then the Babylonians, and nexte the Bellitans, with such as inhabite the Cossean mountains. The Gortuans came next, which sometime followed the Medians out of Euboia: but at those daies degenerated from their countrey customes. The Phrigians, Cathonians, & Parthians, enclosed the taile. This was the battaile on the left hand. In the battell on the right hande, were the people of the greater Armenia, the Caducians, Capadocians, Sirians, and Medians, who had fiftie hoked wagons. The summe of his whole armye was xlv. M. horsemen, and CC. thousande footemen. When they were placed in order of battaile, they marched forwardes ten furlongs, and then were commanded to stay. Whilest the Persians after that maner taryed for their enemies, there fell a sodain feare amongst the Macedons: wher of there appeered no cause, and yet euerie man was amased, and a secret dread entred into their hartes. The lightening that fell out of the ayre, beeing in the Sommer season, seemed like fier, and the flames sodenly appearing, were thought to come from Darius campe. If Mazeus

which

which was sent to obserue their comming, had set vppon them whileſt they were in this feare, he might haue don them some notable damage. But he was slacke to doe his enterprise, and remained vpon the top of an hil, contented that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiuing the terrour that was come amongſt his menne, made a signe for them to stay, & gaue order that they should vnarme themselues, and refresh their bodies: giuing them to vnderstand that ther was no cause why they should so sodeinly conceiue a feare, seeing their enemies were yet a good distaunce from them. At length, when he perceyued they had recouered their spirites, hee exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothing more expedient for the case presente, then to fortifie his campe in the same place. The next day Mazeus which had planted himselfe on a high hill, from whence hee might beholde hys enemyes campe, either for feare, or else because his commission was but onely to discouer, retourned agayne vnto Darius. Vppon his departure the Macedons by and by toke the hill which he had forsaken, the same beeing of more strength then the plaine, where they remained before, from whence they might behold their enemies camp. And though the myst which the moisty hils dyd cast forth, toke not away cleerely the vse of the prospect: yet it letted them to discerne the diuision of their enemies battailes, and their order,

the multitude of whom ouer-spread the fieldes, and the noise of such a number filled their eares though they were farre off. Then Alexander began to reuolue in his heade, and to debate with himselfe, one while Parmenios opinion, an other while his owne. For he was come so farre forth, that he coulde not retire except hee were victorer, without the great destruction of his armie. The multitude of his enemies moued him much in respect of his small number. Yet on the other part, he remẽbred what great actes he had done wt them, & how many nations he had vanquished. So that hope surmounting his feare, he thought it most danger of all to deferre the battaile any longer, least desperation might growe amongst his men, and therefore dissembling the matter, caused the mercenary horsmen, and the Peones to passe on before, and deuided his Phalanx (as it hath bene saide before) into two battailes, and empailed the same with horsmen on both sides. By that time the miste auoided, and it began to ware cleare, the order of their enemies appearing manifestly. The Macedons thẽ whether it were of courage, or for that they were impacient to tarie any longer, made such a shout as menne of warre doe when they ioine in battaile: the like was also made by the Persians. Then the woodes and valleyss round about rebounded wt the terrible sound. The Macedons could not abstain any longer, but would haue runne forwardes towardes their enemies.

But

But Alexander thought it better to fortifie his Campe vpon that hill, and so commaunded it to be entrenched about. Which worke being spéedily perfourmed, he entred into his tent, from whence he might behold the whole army of his enemies hoste. Then the whole fashion & fourm of the daunger that was at hand, was presented before his eyes: both horsemen and fotemen glistred in their bright armour, and all thinges were prepared with great diligence. He behelde the care of the Captaines in his enimies camp, how they did ride vp and downe to set thinges in order. And diuers things which were but vayne in déede: (as the noyse of men, the neying of horses, and the glistering of their armor) troubled yet ỹ minde that was carefull in the expectation of the matter. Therefore whether it were ỹ he was not fully resolued in his mind, or else to proue the mindes of such as were aboute him, called his frends to consult what was best to do. Parmenio that was the most expert mã amongst all the capitains in the feats of warre, thought good not to giue his enemies plain battaile, but rather to sette vpon them in the deade time of the nighte, whereby hee thought they might easily be discomfited: supposing that they amongst whom there was so great diuersitie of customes, and alteration of language, could neuer assemble well togither, specially when they should be put sodainly in feare in the night time béeing a slæpe: wheras in the day time the shape

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of the Scithians & Bactrians, with their rough faces & long haire, besides the hugenes of their bodies should appéere terrible. And argued how souldiers were more moued with vaine causes of feare, and such as were of no moment, then with such as were iust causes in déed. He declared also howe their enemies by reason of their great multitude, shoulde bee able to enclose their small number rounde about: and that they shoulde not nowe fighte in the streightes and narrowe passages of Cilicia, but in an open and large plaine. They all in manner agréed to Parmenio his saying: and Policarpon was of a plaine opinion that the victory consisted in the point which he had deuised. The king that before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then he thought good, would not checke him agayne, but beheld Policarpon, and saide.

That pollicie that you aduise me, perteineth to stealers and théeues: for it is their propertie to worke by sleight and deceite. I will no more suffer that eyther Darius absence, the streightnes of the ground, or the stealth in the night, shall be an hinderance to my glory. I am plainly determined to haue to doo with him in the open day, and had rather repent mée of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victorie. Beside this, it is to be considered, that the Persians keepe good watch, and stand armed alwaies in a readines to receyue vs, whereof I haue aduertisement, so that they cannot be deceiued that way. Therefore there dooth remaine no more, but that you prepare your selues to the battaile.

When he had by these wordes put them in a courage, he dismissed them from counsell, to refresh their bodies. Darius coniecturing that his

enemies would haue done the same thing that Parmenio did perswade, caused the horses to stande readie bridled the whole night, and the more parte of his host to continue armed, and kéepe good watch. His campe shone bright with the fiers that were made, and he himselfe with his Capitaines and kinsfolkes wente about hys battailes that stode in order and in armes, making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars, and to the euerlasting fier, that they would inspire vnto them a fortitude of mind, that might answer to the auncient glorie and actes of his predecessours. And shewed if the minde of man were able to conceiue any tokens or signes of the gods fauour or assistaunce: it was no doubt but that they were bent on their side, hauing alredy striken a sodeine feare amongst the Macedons: which (he saide) might bee séene by their running here and there, by the carrying and casting of their armour. And that the Gods which toke care of the Persians Empire, were nowe determined to punish those cowardes: Whose Capitaine (quoth hee) béeing of no other sort then the rest, were like vnto those wild beasts, which through grédines of the praye that they doe couet, fall into the snares that bee sette for them. The like care was amongst the Macedons. For as though the matter shoulde haue béene tryed that night, they passed it ouer in doubt and fear. Alexander himselfe (that was neuer séen in such feare before that time) called for Aristander

to

to make vowes and prayers: who in a whyte garment carrying Verbenes in his hande, with his head couered, wente before the king, calling vpon Iupiter, Minerua, and Victoria. When he had thus performed his sacrifice according to their religion, he returned into his pauileon to rest the residue of the night. Yet could he neither rest nor sléepe, but continually debated wyth himselfe which way he shoulde assaile his enemies. One while he was of opinion to giue his first onset vppon that battaile of the Persians ỹ should come on his right hande. Sometime hee determined to méet his enemies in the very frõt and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his bodie became heauie with trauaile of the minde, and he fell into a sound sléepe. When the day appéered, the Capitaines assembled togither about ỹ kings pauileon to receiue their charge, where they stode amazed with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wõt to call vppon other men, and to reprowue such as were slowe or negligent, not to be then sturring when the matter was come to the point of the extreme daunger. And many were of opinion that he slept not, but shronke for feare: yet for all that none that were about his person durst attempt to awake him. In the mean season the time past away, and the souldiers might neither put on their armour, nor go in order of battaile,

without commaundement of their head. When they had thus tarried a good while, Parmenio gaue commaundement they should fal to meat. At length when the time came, that of necessitie they must set their battailes, he entered into the kings lodging, and called vppon him diuers times by his name: but when hee could not awake him with his voice, he stirred him with his hande.

It is far forth day (quoth hee) and your enemyes come forwards in order of battayle, and your souldiers beeing yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement giuen them what they shall doo. Where is that cheerefulnes and courage of yours become, which were woont to stirre vp other men?

Alexander made answere vnto him.

Thinke you that I could sleepe before that I had rid my selfe of the care that letteth me to take my rest? and thereupon caused the trumpets to blowe to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued still in admiration that he in such a tyme could sleepe so quietly, It is no maruell (quoth Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, wasted the villages, and destroyed the victuals. I could then in no wise be quiet. But now what cause haue I of feare, seeyng he prepareth himselfe to fight? He hath now fulfilled my desire: resort you where your charge lieth, and I will straighe waies come to giue order amongst you, and reason this matter afterwards.

He vsed seldome to take his frendes aduyse, when any doubt or danger was at hand. When Parmenio was gone, hee armed himselfe, and came forwardes amongst the souldiers. They seeing him looke so chearefully as they had not done before time, conceiued by the boldnes of his countenance a certaine hope of the victorie

The.

Then he caused the trenches of his campe to be cast downe, that the souldiours might haue free passage forth, and so did set his battailes in order. The horsemen which they call Agenia, of whome Clitus was Capitaine, were set in the wing of his right hande battaile, to whome hee ioined Philotas and other Capitaines. The last band of horsemen was Peleagers, which went next vnto the square battaile of ỹ fotemen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the phalãx followed the Argiraspides, of whome Nicanor the sonne of Parmenio was Capitaine. Cenos with his band was appointed to be a relief: Perdiccas and Lincesta came next in order, and after them Polycarpon ỹ had the rule of the strãgers, and Phylagus which had the rule of the Balacrons. And this was the order of Alexanders battaile in the right warde, whereof Amintas was chief. In the left battaile Craterus had the charge of the Peloponesian horsemen, and with him also the bands of the Acheians, Locrẽsians, and Poleonensians, and the last troupes were the horsemen of Thessaly, vnder Philip their capitaine. Thus the horsemen couering ỹ fotmen, made the front of the left battaile. And lest the enemies through their multitude should enclose the battaile about, hee planted a great force behinde for the relefe of that matter, and set a relefe also vppon the winges, not in front with the rest, but vpon the sides, to the intent ỹ if the enemies attempted to compasse about the

battails

battailes, that they should be ready to kæpe thē doing. Those that occupied the places of relieſe were the Agrians, of whome Attalus was capitaine, and the Archers of Cræte ioined vnto them. Such as stode in the hinder partes of the battailes, were ordered to turne their faces frō the frontwardes, because that bæing in a readineſſe euerie waye, the battayles in euerie place should be of like force. They which stode with their faces contrariwise were the Illirians, and the mercenary souldiers, with the Thracians that were lightly harnessed. These his battails were sette so aptly to be turned euery way, that such as stode in the hinder partes could not bee enclosed about, but might towardes eth parte make their front: So the front, the flanks, and the hinder parts were all of like force. When he had set his men in order after this manner, hee gaue cōmaundement that if the Persiās should put forwards vppon them their hooked wagons with a crie or noise, that then they shoulde open their battailes, and receiue them with silence, not doubting but that they should passe through without harm doing, if no man did resist them. But if they should come without anye showte or clamour, that they themselues would make a crye to feare the horse withall, and so with pykes thrust them in on euerie side. They that had the charge of the battailes were commaunded to extende them so much in breadth as they mighte, least by standing ouer cloase,

they

they might be enuironed, and yet not to stretch them so farre out, to leaue the places voide, or thinne in the middest. The cariage and the prisoners (amongst whom Darius mother was) were sette on the toppe of an hill, with a small garde about them. The charge of the lefte battaile was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed before time: Alexãder himself was in the other. When they were come nére together, one Byon came fléing from the Persian host in all the haste he could make, and declared vnto the king that Darius had planted Iron galtoppes, where as hee thought his horsemen should passe, and by a certain signe shewed him the place, because it might be auoyded. Alexander willed the fugitiue to be kept safe, & assembled all his Captaines togither, declaring ỹ matter, and exhorting them to make their souldiers prouy to the daunger, for eschuing the place pointed out to them. But all that were in so great an army could not heare the warning giuen, ỹ noyse of both armyes taking away the vse of the eares. But Alexander riding betwixte the battailes, gaue exhortation to the Capitaines, and to al other that were within hearing.

He declared that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countreys in hope of the victorie, which they were nowe readye to fight for. Thereupon he reduced to their memory the battailes they had fought, at the Riuer of Granike, in the mountaines of Cilicia, and with what spéede they had passed ouer both Siria and Egypt, the reheatsall whereof

whereof put them in great hope, and pricked them forwards to the desire of glorie. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawne againe from their former flying, were nowe compelled to fight of necessitie, because they could flie no further, and how that three daies together amazed for feare, they had remained still in one place with their armour on their backs. Of whose dispaire (he said) there could be no greater argument: thē that they had set on fire their owne cuntrey, confessing all to bee their enemies, that they destroied not. He exhorted them not to feare the vayne names of vnknown nations: for it was a thing nothing pertinent to the moment of the matter, which were called Scithians or Caducians. For that they were vnknowne nations was the greatest token that they were men of no valour: for because such as be valiaunt men could neuer be vnknowne in the world. And contrariwise dastards when they come forth of their dennes, bring nothing with them but names of men, whereas you (quoth he) that be Macedons, haue obteyned by your vertue and manhode, that there is no countrey in the world ignorant of your actes. He willed them to behold the euill order that was in their enemies holle, of whome some had no weapon but a darte, other a sling to cast stones, and verie fewe had such armour as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other parte: yet (hee saide) they had more on their side that should come to handstripes. And that for his part he woulde not require any man to aduenture himselfe, except he were an example to them to shew valiantnes and courage: For he promised that he should be seene fighting with the formost, knowing that so many wounds as hee should get, should be so many ornaments to his person. He saide, they themselues knewe that hee would be no partaker of the pray, but that euer his custome was to bestowe the rewardes of the victorie to their behoofe and commoditie. His former wordes hee shewed to bee spoken to such men as were of courage, but if ther were any that were otherwise, he had to say vnto them: that they were come vnto the place from whence they could not flie, hauing lefte so many countreyes behind them which they had passed ouer, and so

marse Riuers and mountaines at their backes. So that nowe there was no way to their houses and countrey, but such as they must make open with their own handes.

This was the exhortation he gaue vnto the Capitaines, and to such of the souldiers as stod nert him. Darius that was in his left battaile, accompanied with a choise band of elect horsmē and footmen, despised the small number of his enemies, their battailes appéring to him thinne and voide of men, when he sawe their winges stretched so farre abroad. He stode therefore on his Chariot on high, and turning himselfe both on the right hand and the left, spake in this sort to such as were about him.

We that not long ago were Lordes of all the countreyes betwixt Hellespont and the Occean Sea, are compelled nowe to fight, not for fame and glory, but for our sauegarde and our libertie, which chiefly is to bee esteemed. This day shall eyther establish or make an end of the greatest Empire that hath beene in any age. At the Riuer of Granike we fought with a smal part of our power, whē we were vanquished in Cilicia, Siria was able to receiue vs, and the Riuers of Tigere Euphrates were as bulwarkes to defende our kyngdome. But nowe we be come to that point, that wee haue no place to flie to, if we be put to flight. All thyngs behinde our backes are wasted with this long warre, neither Cities be inhabited, nor menne left to tille the ground. Both our wiues and our children doe followe this army, a pray ready for our enemies, except wee put forth our bodies for the defence of such as be deare vnto vs. So much as hath concerned mee, I performed, preparing such an army as this huge plaine is scarcely able to receiue: I distributed amongst you horse and armour, prouiding that victuals should not wante for such a multitude, and haue chosen out an apt place to arraunge our battails in. All the rest remaineth in your

hands.

handes. Do but dare, and the victory is yours: despise you this fame which is but a weake weapon agaynst men of valure. It is rashnes which hitherto yee haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the first brunt is spēt it waxeth then dull as these Drones hauing once lost their tongues. This plaine hath disclosed their small number, which the mountaines of Cilicia did hide: you see howe thinne their rankes bee, their winges howe they be extended abroad, how their battailes be empty, and voyde of men, and such as bee hindermost haue already turned their backes. They may be ouerthrowne with your horse feete, though I send none against thē but the hooked wagons. And if we winne the battaile, we make an end of the warre, for they haue no place to flie vnto. They be shut with Tiger on the one side, and with Euphrates on the other: and such things as before made for their purpose, be nowe turned, and make cleere against them. Our army is light, & without baggage, and they be laden with praies and booties. We shal kill them therfore as they be wrapt in our spoiles. And the same one thing shall be both our gaine, & the cause of our victory. If any of you be moued with the fame of that nation, you must thinke that the armour with the outward shewe, & not the bodies of the verye Macedons bee there presente: wee haue consumed so much of their bloud since the warre begun. And seeing they be but fewe, their losse must needes be to them the greater. For how great soeuer Alexander doth seem to such as be fearfull & cowards, he is but a man, & if you trust me, both rash & without consideration: & hitherto more fortunate through our feare, then by his own valour. There is nothing can cōtinue that is not gouerned by reason. For though fortune seeme to fauor for a while, yet at length she shall not support his rashnesse. Besides that, the estate of things be full of chaunge, & no man hath perpetually felicitie. It may be that the prouidence of the gods haue so ordeined it, that the empire of the Persians increased with such prosperous successe by the space of CC. and xxx. yeares, & brought to so great an height of fortune, should now rather bee shakē then vtterly ouerthrown: therby to admonish vs

of mans fragilitie, which dieth to forget himselfe ouermuch in prosperous estate. It is not long ago since of our owne motion and courage, we moued war against the Grecians, and inuaded their dominions: but now we stand at defence in our owne countrey. Thus we be toiled one against an other by exchaunge of fortune. For one nation cannot beare the greatnes of the Empire that we both do couet. But be it so that hope were taken rō vs, yet necessitie ought to pricke vs forward: the matter is come to such extremitie. He keepeth now vs prisoners both my mother, my two daughters, and Oethus my sonne, borne to the succession of this Empire. He keepeth captiue your Princes, the issue that is descended of the blood royal: yea, and your Capitains equall with kings, and if you do not nowe lay to your handes, I my selfe am like to become captiue. Deliuer you therefore my bowels out of prison, and restore to me my children, for whose sake I do not refuse to die. We you all sure that both my mother and my children (for my wife is deade in prison) be holding vp their handes, crying vnto the Goddes, and calling for your helpe, your compassion and fidelity, that you would deliuer them from seruitude, from fetters, and from the estate they are in, liuing at other mens will & appointment. Thinke you that they can be content to liue vnder such, as they could scarsly vouchsafe to haue for subiects: I see that our enemies battails do approch, and the nearer the daunger is at hand, the lesse ỳ wordes I haue spoken doe satisfie mee. I make request to you by the Gods of our countrey, by the eternall fier that is caried vpon the aulters, by the brightnes of the sunne, that riseth within the bounds of mine Empire, and by the euerlasting memorie of Cirus, which firste did take the Empire from the Medes and Lidians, and gaue it to the Persians, to deliuer their name and this nation from shame and reproch. Go forth chearefully, haue you good hope, and see that you restore to your posteritie, the glorie you receiued of your elders. Lo, you are nowe in your handes your libertie, your help, and hope in time to come. Whosoeuer therefore contemneth death, escapeth death, and death ouertaketh such as do flie from death. I ride here in a Chariot, not on-

lie for that it is my countrey custome, but also that I may be seene of you all: And I desire nothing so much as that ye will followe me, whether I shew you an example of prowes, or of cowardnes.

In the meane season whilest Alexander dyd couet to eschewe the place of perill whereof hee was warned, and enforced himself to encounter with Darius lefte battaile, where he remained in person, was coupelled to fetch a compasse about. Whome when Darius perceiued, he turned likewise his owne battaile towardes him, willing Bessus to appoint the Massagets horsemen to giue a charge on Alexanders left battell. He set before him his hoked wagons, which by a signe giuen brake out sodeinly vpon their enemies with a full course, to the intent that by their comming vnawares, they might doe the greater destruction. The pikes that were set before in the wagons destroied diuers, and manie were torne asunder by the hookes that were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to thē by a litle, and litle, but troubled their aray with a maine flight. When Mazeus sawe their disorder, he put them in more feare, and appointed out a thousand horsemen to fetch a compasse about the Macedons battailes to spoile their cariage, supposing that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bands whē they should sée their owne nation approch. Parmenio which was in the lefte wing perceiued this matter well, and therefore sent Polidamas vnto Alexander to shew him the daunger, & know

his pleasure what he would haue done. When he vnderstood the case by Polydamus:

Go thy way (quoth he) and shewe Parmenio, if we winne the battaile, we shall not only recouer again our own, but shal also haue the spoile of our enemies. Therfore I would not that any part of our force should be remoued from the maine battaile, but let him fighte it out manfully, and not regarde the losse of baggage, wherein he shall obserue the honour of me, and my father Philip, whose custome was to do the like.

In the meane season the Persians were entered among the cariages, and had slaine diuers that were left there in defence: whereupon the prisoners began to lose themselues, & taking vp whatsoeuer came to hande, toke parte with the horsemen, and sharply assailed the Macedens. Diuers were so ioyfull that they ran to beare tidings to Sisigambis, howe Darius had won the victorie, & had ouerthrowne his enemies to their great slaughter, and also that all their cariage was wonne, thinking the like fortune had beene euerie where, seeing they salue the Persians sal to spoile. And although they exhorted Sisigambis that she should leaue her heauinesse & reioice, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, without speaking one worde, or chaunging colour or countenance, but sate still immouable. Shee was so ouercome (as it was thought) with sodeine ioy, ỹ she durst not stirre nor attempt fortune. For such as did behold her, could not perceiue, which way she was inclined In the meane season Amintas, ỹ was maister of the horse to Alexander, came wᵗ a few bandes

of

of horsemen to succour the cariages, but vncerteine it was whether he did it of his owne head or by the kinges appointment. He was not able to endure the force of the Cadusians and Scithians, for scarcely attempting the skirmish, hee was driuen backe, and fled againe vnto Alexander, being rather a witnesse of the losse of the cariage, then a rescuer of the same. The grief that Alexander conceiued of this matter ouercame the purpose he toke before, and feared (not without cause) least the souldiers through the carefulnes to recouer their own, might leaue y fight and resort toward their baggage: he sent therefore Aretes Capitaine of the spearemen y were named Sarissophery, against the Scithiãs. By this time the hoked waggons, which had somewhat troubled the forefront, were come within the square (which the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the souldiers neuer shrunke at y matter, but receiued them into the middest of their battell, whereas ioyning themselues close togither, they stoode lyke a wall on both sides, thrusting their pykes into the bowels of the horses, running about the wagons, and throwing downe such as stode in them at defence. The whole battaile was entangled and troubled with the ruyne and killing of the horses, with such as gouerned them. They could not rule their horses when they were once galled and hurte: which wyth much leaping and strugling, not only brake out of their trace, but also ouerthrew their wagons,

drawing at their tailes the men that were slain, neither beeyng able to stand still for the feare they were in, nor yet go forwards being so faint of their woundes. Yet a fewe of them passed through the battaile, whereby such as the waggons did light vpon, were miserably slain, lying vppon the ground with their members cutte in sunder. Yet because that through the greennesse of their woundes they felt litle paine, they kept their weapons still, notwithstanding they were maymed and without strength, til such time as by continuall bleeding they sunke downe deade. Aretes in the meane time had slaine the Capitaine of the Scithians that were spoiling of the cariages, and repulsed them backe. But streight way came the Bactrians by Darius sending, & turned the fortune of the fielde againe. Many Macedons were slaine at the first encounter, but more fledde vnto Alexander. Then the Persians made such a shout as men are wont to do that win the victorie, and fiercely assailed their enemies, thinking that they had in euerie place beene put to flight. When Alexander perceyued his men shrinke, to begin to fainte, and to giue ground, he rebuked such as he sawe afraide, and encouraged many that withdrewe from ỹ fight: so that hee alone restored the battaile againe. When he had put them in hart, he required thē to presse forwardes, and goe on freely agaynst their enemies. Alexander perceiuing that the Bactrians were departed to the defeating of the

cariages

cariages, and by their going had left the righte hande of Darius battaile thinne and naked, hee bent his force wholy that way, and there made a wonderfull slaughter and destruction of hys enemies, which by reason of their lose araye, were not able to withstand him. The Persians in the left wing seing this, were in hope to haue enclosed Alexander about, and came forwardes to set vpon his backe part, whereby great daunger had ensued to him being enuironed both before and behind: if the Agrians had not put their spurres to their horses, and giuen a charge to their enemies, that were enuironing the King about, and so compelled the Persians to tourne their faces againe towardes them. The battails thus were sore trauailed on both sides. Alexander had his enemies both before and behind, and his enemies that came on his backe were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that had spoyled the cariages were excluded frō their owne companie, and coulde not recouer their place againe. Thus the battailes were deuided in diuers partes, and fought one against an other as their chaunce fell. The two kinges that ioined their battailes harde one to another renued againe the fight. There were most of the Persians slain, but the number of the wounded were like on both sides. Darius did ride in a chariot, and Alexander vpon a horse. They both had a choise band about them, which were careles of their own liues. For if their kings should

miſcary, neither they could be ſafe, nor yet deſire to liue. Wherefore euerie one of them thought it a noble thing to aduenture themſelues before the face of their prince, & he that coueted moſte to defende his maiſter, was in moſt perill, for ech man deſired the honour to kill the king on his contrary part. There (whether it were an imagination of the eies, or a thing done in deede) ſuch as were about Alexander, beléeued ỹ they ſawe an Egle flickering about his head, which neither feared with clathing of the harniſſe, nor by crying of them that were dying, hung ſtill in the ayre a little aboue him. Then Ariſtander which ware a white garment, and caried laurell in his hand, ſhewed this thing vnto the ſoul diers béeing buſie in fighting, as a certeine token of victorie. That thing cauſed them which before were in ſome doubt, chéerefully & wt great confidence to aſſaile their enemies. The fight cõtinued after this ſorte, vntill the time ỹ he was ſlain, which gouerned the horſe ỹ drew Darius chariot. Then neither the Perſians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had béene ſlaine. And the Perſians vpon that imagination made a barbarous noyſe, & a ſorrowful howling, wher with they ſore troubled & aſtonied their whole hoſte, that were yet fighting with equal victory. Darius kinſmen and the Squires for his bodie that were on his left hand, left him & fled away with a maine flighte: but ſuch as ſtode in hys defence on his right hand, conueied him into the

heart

heart of the battaile. It was saide that Darius drewe his swoorde, and was determined diuers times to kill himselfe, rather then to sustein the shame of flying away. But when he sawe (as he sate aloft vpon his Chariot) that a great part of his army remained yet fighting, hee was ashamed to leaue them in such sorte. And whilest he thus wauered in his opinion betwixte hope and dispaire, the Persians by litle and litle gaue ground, and shrunke from their order. Alexander that had tyred many horses, did at that instaunt chaunge a newe, and strake at the faces of them that made resistaunce. There was none then that made resistance any longer, but a manifest slaughter fell vpon the Persians, and Darius turned his chariot to flie away. The Macedons pursued harde after them that fled, & the dust y flew vp to the skie, toke awaye their prospect, so that they wandered as it had been in darknes, & euer drew togither when they heard any voice that they knewe. Onely the ratling & noyse of the Chariot, was a token for the Macedons to follow after. As fortune was prosperous to the Macedons on this parte, & contrarious to their enemies: so on the other side, wher Parmenio in the left wing encountred with the Persians, they had the better, & the Macedons the worse. Mazeus with his whole band gaue a charge, and put the horsemen that stode in the winges to a sore distresse. And therupon by reason he abounded with multitude, beganne to enclose

close the footmen about. Then Parmenio sente word to Alexander in what daunger they were in, which he signified to be such, that except they had succour in time, they could not resist, but be enforced to flie away. Alexander was gone far in the chase when this sorrowfull message was brought him, wherefore hee commaunded the horsemen to stay, and chafed wonderfully that the victorie should thus be taken out of his handes, and that Darius had better fortune in flée-ing then he in his following. In the meane season ỹ fame of Darius ouerthrowe was brought vnto Mazeus. Wherfore, though hé had the vpper hand, yet he was striken with such feare of his fellowes misfortune, that he made a slacke pursuite vppon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cause why the fight did slacke so willingly of their parte, but boldly vsing the occasion of the victory, called vnto him the Thessalian horsemen, and saide: Sée you not howe our enemies that euen now gaue vs a fierce onset, be sodainly afraide, and withdrawe themselues? I sée the fortune of our king doth gyue vs the victorie. All the fielde is strowne with the Persians that be slaine. Why do you therefore stay? Are you not good enough for men that bee flying? They sawe his wordes had an appearance of truth, and therfore by and by they toke courage, and putting their spurres to the horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who retired not by litle and litle, but marched away a great

great pace. And they wanted nothing of flying, saving that they had not yet direcly tourned their backes: yet for all that, in so much as Parmenio knew not what was become of the king nor of his battaile, staied, and would not pursue after them. Mazeus having leysure giuen hym to flie at his libertie, passed the Riuer of Tiger, not the next waye, but by a further compasse about with more suretie, and recouered the Citie of Babylon, with the remaines of that vanquished armie. In the meane season Darius with a few that accompanied him in his flying, came to the Riuer of Licus, where passing ouer, he stode in doubt whether he should breake the bridge or no. For it was shewed him that his enimies were at hand. But considering how many thousands of his men by the breaking thereof should bee a pray to his enemies, he lefte the bridge standing, and at his departure said: that he had rather open the way to them that pursued them, then to shut it against them that fledde after him. But Darius left not his flying till he came to Arbella, where he arrined about mydnight. Who is able to conceiue in his minde, or expresse in wordes the manifolde chaunces in this discomfiture, the slaughter that fell both vpon Capitaines and souldiers, the chasing of them that were put to flighte, and the destruction in particuler and generall? Fortune heaped together y one day, the chaunces of a whole worlde. Some toke the way that came nexte to hande, an-

another sort fled vnto the woodes, & sought out by-pathes to escape such as had them in ỹ chase. There was a confusion of horsemen & footemen mixed togither without any heade, the armed with the vnarmed, & the whole with the hurte. At length the compassion that one had of an other was turned into feare, & they that coulde not follow, were left bewayling themselues one to an other. But thirst chiefly afflicted the woũded & wearyed, which lay along euery where in the waies where any water was, gasping after it with open mouth, & when for grædines they had gulled in the troubled water, they began to swell, when the mud once entered into their entrailes. And being thus not in case to moue, the enemy came & stirred them vp w̃ new wounds. Some, when the brookes nére hand were taken vp by other, sought out for springes in euery secret place. For there was no puddle so drye nor so far out of the way, that could be hidden from the thirst of them that searched them out. The olde men & women were heard howling & crying in all the villages nére the way side, howe Darius was yet their king. Alexãder (as it hath béene said before) pursuing the chase was come to the Riuer of Licus, whereas the multitude of the flyers was greater then could passe ỹ bridg. So that manye when their enemies pursued them, leapt into the Riuer, & there laden wyth their armour, and wearied with fighting & flying, were consumed wyth the streame. But

within a while neither the bridge, nor the River were able to receiue the throng that continually encreased by their vndiscrete flying. For whē feare was once entered into their heartes, they doubted onlie ỹ which put thē first in feare. The Macedons were eager in the pursuite of their enemies, & required Alexander that he would not suffer his enemies to escape free away. But hee to stay them, alledged that their weapons were dulled, their hands wearied, their bodies faynte with long pursuite, & the night besides fast approching on. But in very deede the care of his other battell which he thought to be yet fighting, caused him to return to the succour. Ye had not so soone turned his ensignes, but that certeyne horsemen brought him worde from Parmenio, that he likewise had put his enemies to flighte. Ye was not in so great daunger all that day, as when he was comming towards his camp. For there were but few that followed him, and they were out of order, as menne that reioising of the victorie, iudged all their enemyes eyther to bee fledde or slayne in the fielde. Sodainly there appeered a band of Persian horsemen commyng against them, which at the first stayed, but afterwardes perceyuing the small number of the Macedons, gaue a charge vppon them. The King rode formoste, rather dissimuling then despising the perill he was in: but his perpetuall felicitie neuer failed him in extremities. For at the first encounter hee strake the Capitaine

of

of the Persians, who in egernes of the fight vnaduisedly came against him, through with a speare. When he with that blow was smitten to the ground, Alexander slewe the nexte vnto him with the same staffe, & after diuers other. When his companie sawe their enemies amased with his dooings, they brake vpon them, and threw many to ẏ earth: yet they for their parts were not vnreuenged, for the whole battaile did not so earnestly fight, as that small band assembled there by chaunce. But at length when they sawe flying in the darke to be more suretie vnto them then fighting, they shocked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped this extraordinary perill, brought his menne in sauegard to his campe. There were slaine of ẏ Persians, which came to the knowledge of thē that had the victory, xl. M. and of the Macedons lesse then CCC. which victorye Alexander wan more by his owne vertue, then by any fortune: and with hardines & courage, more thē through any aduauntage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailes politiquely, and fought manfully. With great wisedome he contemned the losse of the baggage, considering the weight of ẏ whole matter to consiste in the battaile it selfe. Whilest the fortune of the field was yet doubtfull, hee vsed himselfe as assured of the victorie. And when he had put his enemies in feare, hee ceased not till he had sette them flying, and that which scarcely can bee beléeued, in the fiercenes

of

of courage, he pursued in the chase more wisely then grædily. For if he should haue followed on still, part of his power yet fighting in the fielde, he should either haue loste the battaile through his own fault, or els haue won ỹ victory through the prowes of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victory, he had shewed himselfe afrayde of the horsmen that he met, he must either haue shamefully fledde, or els haue bëne miserably slayne. Nor his Capitaines were not to be defrauded of their commendation: for ỹ woundes that they did receiue, were tokens of their manhode. Ephestions arme was wounded wyth a speare: Perdicas, Cenos, and Menidas, with shot of arrowes were nëre slaine. And if wë will giue a true iudgement of the Macedons that were there: we must confesse that he was a king worthy such ministers, and they men worthy of such a maister.

¶THE FIFTH BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.

IF I shall make mention of the matters that chaunced in the meane season both in Grœce, Illiria, & Thracia, by the appointment and commission of Alexãder, in order as they fell: ỳ matters of Asia should therby be interrupted, which I thought most conuenient to put wholy together, vntil the death of Darius, and then to ioin them in this worke, as they agree with ỳ time. I will first speake of those thinges that ensued after the battaile at Arbella, where Darius arriued about midnight. And as it chaunced, the more part of his frends, and of all other ỳ were escaped from ỳ field, were come thither. He called them al togither, & spake to thẽ this in effect: That he doubted not but Alexander and his men, gaping with gradie desire for the aboundance of spoyle that was in readinesse for them, would visite such Cities and his intreys of his, as were most notable & plentifull of riches: which thing (he said) considering his estate, could not but turne at length to his anaile. His purpose was (hœ saide) with a small band to repaire into the deserte. And seeing the vttermost boundes of his kingdome were yet vntouched, hœ might from thẽce easily repaire his power again to renue the war

Let,

Let therefore that greedy nation (quoth hee) take my treasure, and satisfie their great hunger with gold, which shortly shall cause both the same and them also to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he saide) by experiente, that the aboundance of riches, and excesse of things, that their flockes of Concubines & Eunuches were nothing els but burdens & impediments: which Alexander possessing and carrying about, would make him inferiour vnto them of whome before he was victorious.

His oration seemed to all men to be full of desperation. For they sawe thereby that the rich Citie of Babylon should bee giuen vp vnto the Macedons, and Susa shortly after, with all other ornaments of the Realme that were cause of the warre. But he proceeded in perswading them, howre that men in aduersitie ought not to do thinges that should seeme goodly in the speaking, but necessary in the experience: that warres were made with Iron, and not with gold, with men, and not with the walles of Cities, for all thinges followe them that bee armed and in strength. He shewed that his auncestors were afflicted after this maner at the beginning, and yet recouered again quickly their former estate. After he had spoken these words, either for that they thereby encouraged, or els that they rather obeied his authoritie, then liked his counsell, followed him into the boundes of Medea. Shortly after Arbella was giuen vp vnto Alexander, which was full of riches, & treasure of pretious stuffe, and princely apparaile, and besides the substaunce of the whole army was lefte there.

The ſickenes that began in Alexanders campe, riſing of the ſauour of the dead bodies ſcattered ouer all the fieldes, was the cauſe that he did ẏ ſoner remoue. The plaine countrey of Arabia verie notable for the abundance of ſwæt odours there growing, lay vpon the right hand as they marched. And ſo paſſed through the countrey lying betwæne Tiger and Euphrates, which is ſo fatte and plentifull a ground, that the inhabiters be faine to driue their beaſtes from fæding, leaſt they ſhould kill themſelues by eating ouer much. The cauſe of this fertilitie commeth of ẏ moiſture that iſſueth from both Riuers, diſtilling by veines through the ground. Both theſe Riuers haue their beginning in the mountains of Armenia, where they be diſtaunt v. thouſand and fiue hundred furlongs, and ſo run forwards kæping their diſtaunce, till they come nære the bounds of Medea and Gordia. For then by litle and litle, the further they goe, they drawe more nære togither, leauing leſſe ſpace betwixt them. They encloſe on both ſides the countrey that is called Meſopotamia, from whence they runne through the boundes of Babylon into the redde ſea. After Alexander had chaunged his campe foure times, hee came to a Citie called Nemnium, whereas there is a fountaine within a caue, that boyleth out great plentie of pitch: ſo it appæreth that the Babylonians had their cement from thẽce, which they emploied about the making of their huge walles. As Alexander was

going

going from thence towards Babylon: Mazeus which was saide before to haue fledde from the battaile, came to meet him in most humble maner, whereas committing his children into hys handes, yelded himselfe, and rendered vp the citie. His comming was very gratefull vnto the king, considering what trauaile he should haue susteined in the siege of so strong a Citie: if yt had bene kept against him. And besides, for so much as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiaunt, and much noted his doing in the laste battaile, thought his example should much prouoke others to do the like. For that cause he receiued both him and his children in gentle maner, and yet gaue order to his menne, that they should enter into the Citie in such araye of battaile, as if they should fight. A great number of the Babilonians stood vpon the walles, desirous to behold him that was their new king. But the more part went forth to meete him. Bagistines that was Capitaine of the Castle, and keeper of the kings treasure, because he would shew himselfe to be no lesse affectionate towardes Alexander then Mazeus was, strowed all the wayes where he should passe with flowers & garlands, and set aulters of siluer on both sides, with frankensence burning vpon the same, and all other kind of sweet odors. Next vnto him came flocks of beastes. great numbers of horses, with Lyons & Pardailes carted in cages, which he brought as presentes to giue vnto Alexander. And after

them the Magies, singing according to their countrey maner. The Caldies went nexte with their diuiners and prophets, and then the musitians with their kindes of instruments: whose propertie was to sing the praises of kinges, and the Caldies vsed to declare the motions of the planets, with the course and reuolution of the time. Last in order came the Babilonian horsemen, whose sumptuous furniture both for them selues and their horses, tended more to voluptuousnesse and delicacie, then to any magnificēce. Alexander that was enclosed about with armed men, willed that the Babilonians should come behind his footemen, and he riding aloft in his Chariot entered into the Citie, and afterwards into the palace, where the next day he surueyed Darius treasure and riches. The beautie and pleasauntnesse of that Citie, gaue iust occasion to Alexander and suche as were with him, to wounder much vpon it. Semiramis was the builder thereof, and according to some mens opinion Belus, whose palace is to be seene there. The walles be made of brick, set with a kinde of pitche called Bitumen. And they be xxij. foote in breadth, so that two cartes may easilye go vpon them a front. They be in height C. cubits, and the towers be x. foote higher than the rest of the walles. The compas of them aboute is CCClxviij. furlongs, being builded (as it is lefte in memory) in so many dayes. The houses stand the breadth of an acre distaunt from the walles,

walles, not builded throughout the citie, but only by the space of lxxxx. furlonges, and those not ioined neare one to an other, but for some consideration deuided a sunder. The rest of ỹ groũd is sowed and tilled, to the intent that if any forrain power come against them, they should bee able to be relieued by the fruit therof comming. The riuer of Euphrates doeth run through the middest of the citie, and is kept in on both sides with wals of a wonderful workemanship. But the great caues made of bricke, and sette with pitche in stead of morter, wrought lowe within the ground to receiue the violence of ỹ streame, do excéd all the rest of the workes there made: for except ỹ same were of quantity & largenesse to receiue ỹ water whẽ ỹ streame floweth ouer the banks ỹ be made to kéepe it in, the violence thereof should beare down ỹ houses of ỹ Citie. There is also ouer ỹ riuer a stone bridge which ioyneth both parts of the citie togither, counted amongst the meruailous workes of the Orient. For by reason that Euphrates is so full of mudde and owse, ground can scarsely there bee founde to laye the foundation vppon, and the streame besides casteth vp such heapes of sande against the bridge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to passe, & therefore beareth vpon ỹ bridge with greater force, than if it had his frée recourse. There is also a Castle that is xx. furlonges about, the towers whereof be thirtie foote deepe within the ground, and iiij score foote

in

in height aboue the ground. Where also ỹ wonders are to bee seene so often mentioned in the Græke posies. For in the same be whole groues of trees set by wonderfull art aboue the groũd, so high as the toppes of the towers, which bee marueilous beutifull & pleasaunt through their height and shadow that they make. The whole weight of them is susteined and borne by huge pillers made of stone, vppon which there is a flooze of square stone, that both vpholdeth the earth that lyeth deepe vpon the pillers, and also the humour wherwith it is watered. The trees that growe thereupon be of eight cubits about, and as fruitful as if they grew in natural earth. And although processe of time is wont by little and litle not onely to destroy things made with hande, but also the verie worzkes of nature: yet this worzke, for all it is oppressed with the roots of so many trees, and burdened with the weight of so much earth, and of so great a wood: Yet remaineth vnperished in any point, being susteyned vp with xx. broad walles, distant xi. foote one from an other. When these trees be seen a farre off, they seeme to be a wodde growing vppon a mountaine. It is said, that a king of Siria reigning in Babylon, builded this worzke for hys Wiues fansie, who for the loue she had to woods and shadowy places, moued her husband in doing thereof to counterfeit the pleasantnes of nature. Alexander taried longer there then in any other Citie, which hurted more the discipline of

the

the Macedons in their wars, then in any other place. For nothing was more corrupt then the maners and customes of that Citie, nor anie other was more abundantly furnished of al thinges, wherewith men bee allured and stirred to excessiue pleasures. The parents and husbandes were contented for gain, that their children and wiues should haue company with such straungers as came amongst them. The kinges & nobilitie of Persia, delyte much in banqueting pastime, but the Babylonians be specially gyuen thereunto, to wine and to dronkennes, wher the women vse such a custome, that in the beginning of the feast their apparell seemeth womanly and demure, but afterwards by litle and litle they put off their vppermost garments, and laying aside all shamefastnes, doe discouer themselues naked. Which vile custome is not vsed by harlots onely, but by them all in general, which count the making of their bodies common, but a ciuilitie and good maner. In this voluptuousnes and abhomination, the conquerour of Asia wallowedby space of xxxiiii dayes whereby hee became much the weaker to haue doone other enterprises, if hee had had an enemie to stande against him. But to the intent the harme he toke should be the lesse perceiued, he increased his power with a newe supply of men. For Amintas the son of Andromenes, brought him from Antipater sixe thousand Macedon footmen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and wyth them fiue hundred

Thratian horsmen, with three thousand fiue hũ-dred footemen of the same nation. He had also out of Peloponese foure thousand footemen, and foure hundred foure score horsmen beeing Mercenarie Souldiers. Amyntas also brought with him fiftie young men of the Nobilitie of Macedonia to attend vpon Alexanders person: whose office was to serue the king at meate, and to bring him his horse when he went to battaile. They accustomed to be about him when hee hunted, and kept the watche by course at his Chamber dore. These were they which afterwards proued great Captaines, and that was the race, out of ỹ which the Rulers of their men of war did come. Alexander appointed Agathon Captaine of the Castle of Babilon, with seauen hundred Macedons, and three hundred Mercenary souldiers, and left Minetas & Appollidorus gouernours of the Cittie and the Countrey, to whom he assigned two thousande footemen and a thousand talents, giuing them in commission to wage more souldiers. He made Mazeus that gaue the Cittie into his handes, Lieutenaunt of the whole, and caused Bagistenes that yelded vp the Castle to folow him in his warres. Armenia was giuen to Mithrenes, that betraied the Citie of Sardos, and to encourage his souldiers to the enterprising of other thinges, gaue out of the treasure of Babylon, to euery Macedon horsman fiue hundred deniers, to euery horsman of the straungers fiue hundred, and to eue-

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rie fotman two hundred. When he had set or
der in all these thinges, he came into the coun-
trey called Satrapene, which being plentiful of
all things, and abundant of vittaile, caused the
king to tary the longer there. And least idlenesse
should be any abatement of his mens courages,
he deuised to stir vp their spirits, and kæp them
occupyed, by appointing iudges to trie out such
as had shewed themselues most valiaunt in the
warres, to whome he assigned rewardes due to
their deseruinges. There were viij. founde out,
whose doings appeered aboue ỹ rest, & the charg
of a M. men was committed to euery one of thē
& were called Chiliarchi. That was ỹ first time
they put a M. in a band: for before that time thei
were deuided into v. C. which was not counted
any great preferment, or reward of seruice. The
number of them were great that came to plead
their right in this behalfe, which before ỹ iud-
ges that gaue sentence, brought in testimony of
their doings: whereby it could not be vnknown
which of them had deserued iustlye such honour
or not. The first place was adiudged to old Ador
chias, for his valiantnes vsed in the battell at A-
licarnasson, where he chiefly did restore agains
the fight, when ỹ young souldiers had giuen it
ouer. The second place of honor was giuen An-
tigonus & Philotas, Angeus obteined the third:
the fourth was adiudged to Amintas, the fift to
Antigonus. Amintas ỹ son of Lincestes obteined
the sixt. Theodorus the seauenth, & Hellanicus
the

the last. Hereupon to great purpose hee altered many things that were vsed by his predecessors in the discipline of warre. For where as before the horsemen of euerie countrey were in seuerall bands by themselues, he without respect of anye nation appointed them such Capitaines as he thought expedient. And whereas at the remouing of the campe, warning was accustomed to be giuen by a trumpet, the sounde whereof in anye noyse or tumulte coulde not bee sufficiently heard: he caused an high pole to be alwaies set before his pauileon, wherupon remained a signe apparant to al men. The token that they obserued was fire in the night, and smoke in the daye time. As he was marching towardes Susa, Abulites that was ruler of the region, eyther by Darius commaundement, thinking by meanes of the spoile to deteine Alexander the longer there, or els of his owne frée will, sent his sonne to méete him, proffering the deliuerie of the Citie. The young man was entreated verie gently, and by his conduction Alexander passed forwardes, till he came to the Riuer of Hydaspis, which is counted to be a very delicate water. Abulites there met Alexander with princely and rich giftes, and presented him amongst the reste of other things Dromedary Camels that were wonderfull swift, with xj. Elephants that Darius had sent for out of India, to be a terrour to the Macedons, which now are become an increase of their strength. When the riches of the van-

vanquished was come into the victorers hands: hee founde in that Citie an incredible treasure, fiftie thousand talentes of Wallie siluer vncoyned: which riches gathered togither in ỹ space of many yeeres by diuers kings for their successiõ and posteritie, thus in a moment came into the handes of a forreine Prince. Alexander being lodged within the Pallace, did sit downe in Darius seate: which being higher then serued for his stature, by reason his feete could not reach to the ground: one of the kings pages put a boord vnderneath for him to tread vpon. At the doing whereof, one of the Eunuches that belonged to Darius looked heauily, and fetched a great sigh: whose sadnes Alexander perceyuing, enquired of him the cause. He aunswered, that when he beheld the boord whereupon Darius was wont to eate, employed to so base an vse, he could not behold it without great griefe. Alexander being therefore ashamed, so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reuerence, caused the same to be taken away. But Philotas made request he should not so doe, but rather take it as a diuination of his good lucke and fortune, that the table whereupon his enemie did eate, should now become subiect vnder his feet. Alexander purposing frõ thence to passe into Persia, cõmitted the citie of Susa to Archilaus with iy. thousand men of warre, & to Zenophilus the charge of the Castle, leauing such Macedons as were aged there in garrison. But he

he did betake the kéeping of the treasure vnto Callicrates, & restored to Abulites the gouernement and principalitie of the countrey of Susa, leauing within the Citie Darius mother & his children. And forasmuch as Alexander had at ỹ same time plentye of cloth of purple sente hym out of his countrey, with garments ready made after the Macedons maner: for the honour hée bare to Sisigambis (whome he had in réuerence as if she had béene his mother) thought good to present parte of those to her, with the persons ỹ vsed to make them: and willed it should be told her if she lyked them, she should accustome her néeces to make the like, and giue them for presentes. At the declaring of which message, the teares ranne out of her eyes, which declared ỹ gifte not to be acceptable to her: for the Persian women take nothing in more despite, then to put their hands to woll. When reporte was made to Alexander in what sorte shee had receiued his present, he thought both ỹ matter méete to be excused, and her to be comforted. Therfore he came to visite her, and saide:

This garment which I weare, was bothe of the gyft and making of my sisters: our customes brought mée into errour. Therefore I require you, that ye wil not take mine ignoraunce in euill part. I trust that other wise I haue obserued sufficiently all things which I knewe to be your custome. When I vnderstoode that it was not lawfull amongst you for the sonne to sitte in the mothers presẽce, except she doth giue him leaue whensoeuer I came into your presence, I woulde neuer sitte till you willed me so to do. You would oftentimes haue fallen downe and worshipped me; but I

would not suffer you, but haue euer honoured you, and giuen you the name due to my sweete mother Olimpiades.

When the king with these wordes had well pacified her, he departed, and by foure encampings came vnto a Riuer that the country men call Palatigras: which springing in the mountaines of the Arions, it runneth steepe downe amongst the rockes with woddie bankes by the space of 50. furlonges: but then descending into a plaine, it becommeth nauigable, & so runneth with a more quiet streame, and in a softer ground by the space of vi. C. furlonges, till such time as it doth enter into the Persian Sea. Alexander passing this Riuer with nine thousand footmen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the mercenary Greekes, and with foure thousande Thracians, came amongst the Arions, whose countrey is neere vnto Susis, and stretcheth out into Persia, leauyng betwixt it and Susis a narrowe streight. Mazates had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man as was rare at that time: for hee determined to abide ye extremitie for his dueties sake. Such as knew the Countrey, did enforme Alexander that there was a priuie waye through the hilles whereby menne might gette to the furthermost side of the chiefe Citie of that countrey: and if hee would sende a fewe that were light armed, they might bee brought to a place where they should appeere aboue their enemies heads. This counsayle lyked him so well, that hee made the

counsailers guides,and cõmitted them to Tauron,whome hee appointed chiefe of that enterprise.He assigned vnto him a M. v.C.mercenary souldiers,and a M.Agrians, with whom after the Sunne was gone downe,he entered into his iourney.Alexander in the the third watch remoued his campe,& by the spring of the daye had passed the streights. There he set his men in hand to cut downe timber for the making of Towers,and all other such things as perteined to the assault of a Citie, and so began his siege. It was a difficult matter to make the approch, the Citie stood so high,and the rockes gaue such impediment,whereby the souldiers were repulsed,and receiued many hurtes, contending both with the enemies,and the situation of the place. Notwithstanding they gaue it not ouer,by reason the king was euer amongst the formost, asking them if they were not ashamed, being the conquerours of so many Cities,to bee so long in the winning of a small castle, that was so obscure and and vnknowne in the world. As he was traueiling amonst the rest, they did shoote and cast stones at him from the walles: whom the souldiers defended with their targettes, because they could not remoue hym away. At length Tauron appeered aboue the castle of the Citie: at whose sight the enemies hartes faynted,and the Macedons the more fiercely did assaile them. When they sawe themselues in this extremitie, and perceiued their power not able

to

to withstand the Macedons, they became of diuers dispositions. For some were determined to dye, and manie to flie away. But the greater part retired themselues into the Castle, from whence they sente vnto Alexander thirtie Embassadoures to aske mercie. But he gaue vnto them a sorrowfull aunswere, that there was no pardon to be obteined at his hands. Wherupon they being in doubt of death, and excluded from all other remedies, sente vnto Sisigambis by a priuie way vnknowne to their enemies, making their request that shee would vouchsafe to bee a meane to Alexander for the pacifiyng of his rigour and wrath towardes them. In her onely they put their hope, knowing howe much Alexander loued her, and that he estæmed her as if she had bene his mother. And they thought she would the rather encline to their desire, because Madates ý was capitain there had maryed her sisters daughter, whereby he became a kinne to Darius. Sisigambis stode long in deniall of their request, shewing that it agreed not with her fortune to become an intercessour for others, adding thereunto, that she feared least she might misuse the victorers fauor, and make him wearie of her: for she saide that shee had more remembraunce that she was prisoner, thē that she was a Quéene. But at length she was ouercome with their suite, and by her letters made intercession vnto Alexander after such a sort, that she first excused her selfe of her suite

king, & after required him that he woulde pardon them, or at the least wayes that he woulde forgiue her, being peticioner but for the life only of such one, as was her friend & her kinsman, and now no lenger any enimie of his maiestie, but in readinesse to submit himselfe. This one matter is sufficient to declare the moderation and clemencie that was then in Alexander: for he did not only pardon Madates, but also lefte the citie vntouched, graunting to all that were within it both libertie and frædom, with enioyment of their landes and gwds, without paying of any tribute, more then that which she coulde not haue obtained of Darius being her Sonne. When he had thus subdued the Vrions, he annexed them to the Prouince of Susa, and purposing to passe forwardes deuided his armie into two parts, whereof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conducted by the plaine countrey, and reseruing such a part as was pestered least with baggage, toke the way of the mountaines, which with a continuall ridge, runneth out in length from thence into Perse. In his passage he destroyd all the mountain countrey, ariuing the third day in the boundes of Persia. The v. day he entred into the streights of Pilae Susidae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with xv. M. fotemen, who kæping the tops of the high and steepe rockes that hung ouer on both sides the way, at the first kept themselues quiet of purpose, pretending a feare vntill suche

time

time as ỳ army was entred into the narrowest of the streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwards in their contempt, then they threwe downe great stones vppon them: which falling vpon the nethermost rockes, and there breaking in péeces, rebounded among the Macedons, falling with such violence, that thei distressed whole bandes at once. And besides, they did them great damage with shotte of arrowes, and stones that they did cast out of slynges. Such as were men of courage were not so much greeued with the death and destruction that they sawe there present, as that they should be slayne after such a maner like beasts caught in a pitte, whereas they could not be reuenged vppon their enemies. Their wrath here-upon was turned into such a rage and wodnesse, that they ranne vp against the rockes, and there enforced them-selues by taking holde, and by heauing vp one of an other, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they had caught holde vpon some outward parte, and thereby laboured to ascende, by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once: they pulled asunder the thing they holde by, and so fell downe all togither. In this case they could neither remayn, passe forwards, nor yet defende them-selues by anye deuyse they coulde make with their Targettes, seeyng the stones were of suche weyghte that were throwne downe vpon them. Alexander was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the griefe

he receiued by the destruction of his menne, but much more for the shame that he had brought his army into such a daungerous streight. He had béene inuincible before that day, and neuer attempted thing in vayne. He had passed the streights of Cilicia without anye hurte or damage, and opened himselfe a newe way by Sea into Pamphilia. Which felicitie of his seemed to be at a stay, and plucked backe: for he could perceyue no other remedy, then to returne by y way he came. He caused the Retreite therefore to be blowne, and gaue order to his souldiers to go close togither, and by casting their targettes ouer their heades to returne backe again, after they had marched thirtie furlonges within the streight. When he was returned, and had planted his campe in an open grounde, consulting what was best to do: such a superstition entred into his minde, that he called for the priestes, & diuiners to helpe the matter by their inuocation. But Aristander to whom he gaue most confidence, could do nothing in that case. Alexander therefore condemning their sacrifices, which he thought then done out of time, called for such as knewe the countrey. They shewed him of an other way that was plaine and open ynough: but yet he liked it not, he was so ashamed to leaue his souldiers vnburied that were slaine. For amongst all other ceremonies obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kepte, then the burying of the deade.

He

He caused therfore such prisoners as were lately taken, to bee called before him: amongest whom there was one expert both of the Greeke and Persian tongue, which shewed to the King that he laboured in vaine, if he thought to conuey his armie ouer the toppes of those mounteines, which (he saide) began at mount Taucasus, and closed in the one side of Persia, by the space of a thousand and fiue hundred furlonges in length, and a hundred & fortie in bredth, tyll such time as they come vnto the Sea, which also enclosed the countrey from the place where ỹ mountaines ceased. The countrey lying at the foote of the mounteines, he described to be plain, fruitfull, and replenished with many faire Cities and villages, and that the Riuer of Arares running through the same, falleth into an other Riuer called Medus, bringing with it the waters of many small streames. Which Riuer of Medus beeing much lesse then the same which it doth receiue, runneth from thence towardes the South sea. No place could be more abundant of grasse: for euerie where nére vnto the water, the ground was couered ouer with flowers. The Riuer was shadowed ouer with Platyne & Popler trées, which by reason they stand somewhat high, and the water runneth lowe in a déepe chanell, séeme to such as be a farre, to be woodes adioyning to the mountaines. He counted no countrey in all Asia to be more wholesom or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both

by

by reason of shadowy mountaines that euermore defendeth the heat, & also of the sea, which on that parte beeing at hande with a certeine temperature doth nourish the ground. When the prisoner had made a description of the countrey after this maner, the king enquired of hym whether he knewe those thinges by reporte, or els had seene them with his eyes. He said that he had beene an heardman, and knewe the countrey very well, and all the passages. And that he had beene twyse taken prisoner: once by the Persians in Licia, and nowe the seconde time by him. Vppon those wordes Alexander called an Oracle to memorie, whereby it was signified to him that a Lician should be his guide into Persia. Wherfore promising him such rewards as the present necessitie required, and as his estate was meete to receyue, he wylled hym to be armed after the Macedons manner, and to be their guyde to shewe them the way. Which though he had declared to bee but streight and difficult: yet Alexander put no doubt to passe yt with a small number: thinking it an easie matter to passe the place for glory and perpetuall cõmendation that the heardman had passed often times in feeding of his beastes. Then the prisoner lefte not to alleadge the difficultyes of the waye, specially for such as weare armour. But the king saide to him: Take me for surety that neuer one of them that be appointed to thee, shal refuse to goe, where thou shalt passe.

That

That done he lefte Craterus with the charge of his campe, and he himself passed forwards with such footemen as were accustomed to his person, with those bandes of whome Meleager had charge, and with a thousand Archers on horseback, taking first order with Craterus, that he shoulde kéepe his Campe in such fourme as it had béene vsed before, and cause many fires to be made of purpose, that the enemies might the rather thinke him to bee there still present: hée aduised him further, that if he perceiued Ariobarzanes to get knowledge of his enterprise, and so to sende parte of his power to the stopping of his passage, that then by pretending of an assault he should shewe all the terrour he coulde to drawe his enemies from him to the defence of that place. But if that hee himselfe shoulde deceiue his enemies, and recouer the hill vppon them, that then vpon the hearing of the alarme in the Persians campe preparing themselues to his resistance, he shoulde not doubt to passe that way from which they were repulsed the day before, iudging they should finde no resistance, the enemies béeing conuerted towards him. In the thirde watch he sette forwardes in great silence wythout blowing of Trumpet, and passed on by such waye as was shewed him by the guide, euerie souldier that was light armed carying three dayes vittaile. But when he was on hys way, besides the wilde rockes and sharpe stones that caused them ofte to fayle their footyng,

the snowe also driuen with the winde, was a great impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell diuers times downe into pits, and such as coueted to pul them out, were oft times drawne after. The night also with the cuntrey vnknowne, and the guide of whose fidelitie they doubted, encreased much their feare: considering that if they shoulde not deceiue their enemies watch, they should be taken like beastes. They weighed also that both their sauegarde and the kinges lay in the handes of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a mounteine, whereas the way towards Ariobarzanes lay on the right hande. Then he sent before by the guiding of such as they had taken prisoners, Phylotas, Cenon, Amintas, and Policarpon, wyth a bande of the lightest armed, whome he aduised, that forasmuch as they had both horsemen and footmen, and the countrey fertill and abundant of fodder: that they should make no hast, but passe forwardes faire and easily. And hee with the esquires of his bodie, and the bande of horsemen that they call Agenia, was guided by an other by-path, far off from the place where hys enemies kept their watch. But the passage was so streight and so hollow, that they suffred great trouble and veration in passing thereof. It was midday, and they were so wearied, that of necessitie they must take reste, hauing so far to go as they had traueiled already, sauing that the way was not so difficult nor so rough. Ye refreshed there-

therefore his men with meate and with sléepe, and in the second watch did rise vp, and passed the reste of his iourney without any difficultie, sauing in that part where the mountein began to fall a slope towardes the plaine, their passage was sodeinly stopped by a great gull made with the violence of the streames that ranne downe the mounteines, by wearing away of the earth. And besides the trées standing so thicke, and the bowes that grewe one within an other, appéared before them as a continuall hedge. When they sawe themselues stayed after this maner, such desperation fel amongst them, ỹ they could scarsely abstaine from teares: the darkenes béeing a great encrease of their terror, séeing they could not enioy any benefite of the stars. For if any gaue light, the same was taken away by ỹ shadowe of the trees. And the vse of the eares could not serue for one to receiue counsel or comfort at an other, the winde whirled so amongst the leaues, and the shaking of the bowes made such a noyse. But at length the day which they so much desired, diminished with his light the terrors that the darkenes of the night did make. For by fetching of a litle compasse about, they passed the hollowe gulle, and euery man began to be a guide. Finally they got vp into the top of the hill, from whence they might behold their enemies lying in campe. Then the Macedons shewed themselues stoutly in their armour, appéaring sodeinly on their backes, when they mi-

ſtrucked no ſuch thing, and there ſlewe ſuche as came firſt to encounter with them. So that on the one part the grieuous noyſe of them y were ſlayne, and the miſerable ſhowte of ſuch as ran in for ſuccour amongſt their owne companie, put the reſte to flight without making anye reſiſtaunce. When the alarme was once heard in the campe where Craterus laye, the armye by and by paſſed forwardes to goe through the ſtreightes, in the which they were repulſed the day before. Philotas alſo with Policarpon, Cenos, and Amintas, which were gone the other way: arriued at the ſame time, and gaue a further terror vnto their enemies. When the Perſians ſawe their enemies aſſailing in all partes at once, though they were ſo oppreſt wyth their ſodeine inuaſion that at the firſt they were in doubt what to do: yet at length they aſſembled togither, and fought notably, neceſſitie ſtirring vp the faintnes of their hartes: for often-times diſpaire is the cauſe of mens good hap. They being vnarmed, cloſed with them that were armed, and with the weight of their bodies pulled their enemies to the earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons. Artobarzanes wyth fortie horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen that kept about his perſon, brake through the battell of the Macedons, to the great ſlaughter both of his owne men, and of his enemies, & by making of haſte, recouered Perſepolis the chiefe citie of the Countrey. But when he was excluded from

thence

thence by such as were within, he renued again the fight with such as were wyth hym: and so was slayne: by that time Craterus that made all the spéede he coulde deuise, was come vnto them: and Alexander fortified his campe in the same place where he did discomfite his enemies. For though they were all fledde and he certein of the victorye, yet because hee founde his waye stopped in manie places with greate and déepe ditches, hee thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer great haste: not so much for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the grounde, which hée sawe apte for them to laye embushmentes against him. As he was passing forwardes, hée receyued letters from Tyridates the kéeper of Darius treasure, signifiyng that the inhabiters of Persepolis hearing of his commyng, were about to spoile the Treasure, and that therefore he shoulde make haste to preuent the matter: for the waye was ready inough, notwithstanding that the Riuer of Araxes was in his waye. There was no vertue in Alexander more commendable then hys celeritie, which he shewed specially in this matter: for leauing his footmen behinde, he traueiled all night with his horsemen, and by the day light came to the Riuer of Araxes. There hee found villages at hande, where of the Timber broken down of the houses, they made a bridge in a moment, by the helpe of stones whiche were laide in the bottome of the Riuer. When

Alex-

Alexander was passed the Riuer, & came néere vnto the Citie, a company met him so miserable, as seldome haue bëene found in any memorie: the same were Greekes, to the number of foure thousand, whom the Persians before time had taken prisoners, and afflicted with diuers kindes of torments. For of them some had their fëete cut off, some their handes, and other their eares, but all were marked in the flesh with hot irons. The Persians hauing maimed and deformed them after this maner, kepte and reserued them still, as a memory of the despite towardes the nation. But when they sawe they should become vnder the obedience of an other Prince, they suffered the Grëekes to mëete Alexander. They appëered rather to be the images of some monsters, then of men: for nothing could be discerned, or knowne in them but their voice. The compassion of their wretched estate caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares then they did themselues. For it could not appëere which of them were moste miserable, though their afflictions were diuers. But when they cried out before Alexander, that Iupiter the reuenger of Grëece had opened their eyes in beholding him that shoulde deliuer them, they iudged all their griefes as one. Alexander wiped the teares from his eyes, & willed them to be of good chëere, for that they should both sée their countrey and their frends, and he encamped in the same place where he met them, bëing two furlonges from

Perse-

Persepolis. The Grækes drewe themselues togither to consult what was best for them to demaund of Alexander, & when some were of opinion to aske dwelling places within Asia, and other had more mind to return vnto their cuntreis: Entimeon Cimeus spake thus vnto thē.

We that were euen nowe ashamed to put our heads out of the prison and darkenes wee were in to make suite for our owne ayde and reliefe, are become of such simplicitie, that we presently desire to shewe vnto Græce as a spectacle our infirmities & maymes, whereof we haue as much cause to be ashamed, as to be sorrowfull. You must think that such beare their miseries best, which can finde the meanes to hide them most, and that there is none so familiar a countrey to men that be vnfortunate, as solitarines and forgetfulnes of their former estate. For they which make account of their frendes pittie and compassion, knowe not howe soone their teares will drie vp: no creatures can loue faithfully whom they abhorre. For as calamitie of hys nature is querelous, so felicitie is alwaies proude, and euery one doth vse to consider his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of an other mans. For except we had al ben in miserie, one of vs long ago had bene weary of an other. What marueile is it then though men in felicitie seeke alwaies their equalles? Mine opinion is therefore that we (as men which long ago were as deade in this life) seeke vs a place wherein wee maye hide our maimed members, and wheras exile may hide our horrible skarres. If we shall returne into our countrey, being in this case, howe can we but be vngratefull to our wiues whome we maryed young? Or shall our children or our brethren acknowledge vs being prison slaues? and though all thinges should there succeed as we would wish, yet how small a number of vs be able to trauaile through so many countreyes? Howe is it possible for vs that be here banished into the vttermost bounds of the Orient, aged, impotent, maymed to suffer those things, which haue tyred menne that were in force and victorious? It is to be asked what shal become

come of our wiues whome chaunce and necessitie hath gotten vnto vs heere for the onely comfort of our prisonment? What shall wee doo with our children wee haue begotten here? take them with vs, or leaue them behind vs? If we returne with such as we haue here, none of those in Greece will acknowledge vs: & shall we then be so mad to leaue those comforts we haue already, being vncertaine whether we shal come to those we seeke or no? Verely much better it were for vs, to hide our selues amongst them which haue beene acquainted with vs in our miserie.

These were Entimeon his wordes: But Theatus of Athens reasoned to the contrarie. There is no creature (quoth he) in whome remaineth any sparke of honestie, that wil esteeme vs by our outward shape, seing that our calamitie is not come of nature, or by our own deseruing, but through misfortune and our enemies crueltie. Such as be ashamed of fortunes chaunces, as well worthy to suffer misaduenture. They giue a grieuous sentence vpon the estate of mās mortalitie, and despaire much of mercie, that deny their compassion to men in miserie. Nowe therefore since the Goddes haue offered to you the thing which yee durst neuer haue wished for: that is your countrey, your wiues, and your children, beeing the thinges which men esteeme more then life, and redeeme often tymes with death: why doe you doubt for the enioyment of those thinges to breake out of this imprisonment? I iudge the ayre of our owne countrey more naturall to vs, where me thinks is an other maner of liuing, other customs, other religion, & an other tong, which for the pleasātnes is coueted of the barbarous nations. What great thinges then bee those that ye would willingly leaue, the want of which only is the cause of your miserie? My opinion is plaine that we visite our countrey and our home, and not refuse so great a benefite as Alexander hath proffered vs. If any bee so deteyned with the loue of such wiues and children as they haue gotten heere in seruitude, lette such be no impediment to others, that of all things esteeme most their natural countrey.

There

There were but fewe of his opinion: for cu-
ſtome that is of greater force then nature, pre-
uailed in that matter. They agreed to demaund
of Alexander the gifte of ſome place to inhabite
in, and there choſe out a hundred to be ſuiters to
him in that behalfe. When Alexander perceiued
them comming towardes him, thinking ỹ they
would haue required the thing that hee conceiu-
ued in his minde:

I haue appoynted to euerie one of you (quoth hee) beaſtes to carry you, and a M. Deniers, and when you ſhall come to Greece, I will ſo much proſide for you, that excepting your miſfortune, no other ſhall thynke themſelues in better caſe then you.

But when he ſawe them looke ſtill towards the ground, and that they neither lifted vp their eyes, nor ſpake one word, he enquired the cauſe of their heauineſſe. Then Entymeon rehearſed agayne thoſe thinges in effect which he had ſpo-
ken before in counſaile. The King therefore pi-
tying no leſſe their demaunde, then he dyd their miſfortune: commaunded iij. thouſand deniers to be giuen to euerie one of them, and garments beſides, with cattell and corne, whereby they might tille and ſowe the land that ſhould be ap-
poynted vnto them. The nexte day he aſſembled all the Capitaines of his armye togither, and ſhewed them that there was no Cittie more e-
nemie to the Grekes then the ſame that was the chiefe ſeate of the auncient kings of Perſia, from whence all the great armies had been ſent into Greece: and howe Darius firſt, and after

Xerxes

Xerres had come out of that place to moue their vniuſt warre againſt Europe, with the deſtruction of which Citie, he thought good to reuenge their predeceſſors. The inhabiters had abandoned the Citie, and fledde where feare did dryue them. Where-uppon the king ſtreight wayes brought in all his footemen to the ſpoile thereof. He had before time wonne many Cities: ſome by force, and ſome by compoſition, that were ful of riches, and princes treaſure. But the aboundance of that Citie did excéede all the reſte, as in the place where the Perſians had layde their whole ſubſtaunce. Golde and ſiluer was there found in heapes, and great plenty of rich veſtures and furnitures of houſes, not onely for neceſſitie and neceſſary vſe, but for exceſſe and oſtentation: which was ſo great, that it gaue the victorers occaſion to fighte amongſt them-ſelues, eche taking other for enemies, that had gotten the richeſt ſpoile. The plenty there was ſuch, y they could not employe to their vſe the Ryches they found, but when they ſawe things of value eſtæmed them rather then toke them awaye: Till ſuch time that euery one coueting, to haue a parte of euery thing, tare and brake aſonder the princely Robes, and the pretious plate of curious workemanſhip, with the images of golde and ſiluer, which were either beaten in gobets or plucked in pæces, as euery one caught holde: nothing was left vntouched, nor nothing caried away whole: crueltie bearing no leſſe rule there

then

then couetousnes, euery one was so loden with golde and siluer, that they estæmed not the kæping of the prisoners, but killed such as they first spared in hope of gaine. There were many therfore that preuented their enemies handes wyth voluntary death, and diuers that clothing themselues in their most pretious apparell, leaped downe from the walles with their wiues and children. Certein there were that set their own houses on fire (which they iudged their enemies would els haue done shortly after) because they would burne themselues amongst their owne familye. At length the king did forbid any violence to be done to women, and that no manne should medle with any thing perteining to thē. The summe of money taken within this Citie, was greater then any man could well credite: but eyther we must doubt of the reste, or els beleeue that hath beene lefte in memory, how that the treasure there founde, amounted to a hundred and xx. thousand talentes: which treasure, because that Alexander purposed to employ in his wars, caused horse & camels to be brought from Susis and Babilon to cary the same. The taking of the Citie of Persagadis, wherein was found sixe thousand talents, was an increase to this summe, which Citie beeing builded by Cyrus, was yelded vp by Gobares that had the keping therof. Alexander left in the Castle of Persepolis, three thousand Macedons in garrison, vnder Nicarides Capitaine of the same, and

reserued to Teridates that deliuered him the treasure, the same honour that he enioyed with Darius. Leauing in this Cittie ỹ greater parte of his armie, with his cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio and Craterus: hee with a thousand horsemen and a band of footemen, without anie baggage, went to visite in the winter season the inward parts of Perse. Where he was vexed and troubled with stormes and tempests that were in maner intollerable: but yet he letted not to goe forwardes in his enterprise to the place that he appointed. In his iourney he came vnto a Countrey that was couered all with snowe, and frozen by force of the great colde. The wildnes and desert maner thereof, put the souldiers ỹ were wearied with trauaile in such a feare and terror, that they imagined to haue seene the vttermost bondes of the worlde. For when they beheld all things waste, and no signe appearing of mans habitation, they were amazed, and made request to returne againe, before that the light and the elements should faile thē. The King woulde not chastise them being in his terrour, but leaped from his horse and went on foote in the snowe and the yce. Which thing when his frēendes salwe, they coulde not for shame but followe: then the Captaines did the like, and finallie the souldiers. The king was the first that did breake the yce and made himselfe away, whose ensample the rest did folow: At length hauing passed the woods that were

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without way, they found here and there some appearaunce of habitation, and perceiued flocks of sheepe. When the inhabiteurs that dwelled in cottages disparkled there aboutes saw men comming, whom they iudged to be their enemies, thinking they had bene enclosed about, slew such as were not able to folow them, and fled to the wilde Mountaines that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with such as they toke prisoners, their wildnes was somewhat mitigated, and they yelded themselues to Alexander, whom he hurted not anie kind of way. When he had destroyed all that part of Perse, and brought the Townes vnder his obedience: hee came into the Countrye of the warlike Mardons, which differ much frō ỹ rest of ỹ other Persiãs in their maner of liuing. They with their wiues & children did inhabite within caues in the mountaines, & liued with ỹ flesh of sheepe, & wylde beastes. For the women according to their kind had any more appeerãce of mekenes or mildnes then the men, either in their personages or dispositions. But their curled haire did hang downe before vppon their faces, and their garments came but to their knee. The bands of their slinges were fillets for their foreheads, which they vsed both for ornament & for defence. This nation for all their barbarous & rude maner, could not escape to be subdued with the same force of fortune ỹ others were. So that ỹ xxx. day after he departed frō Persepolis, he re

turned thither againe. Then he gaue rewardes to his frendes, and to all the reste according to their deseruing, distributing in maner all the riches which he found in that Citie. But all his excellent vertues of the minde, his princely qualities, wherein he excelled all kinges, both that constancie in all daungers and perilles, that celeritie in deuising and performing his enterprises, his promise kéeping towardes the yélden, his clemencie towards prisoners, and that temperance in lawfull and accustomable pleasures, were all defaced through the intollerable desire and delight he had in drinking. For notwithstanding that his enemy which cõtended with him for the Empire, did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his power togither: and although the people newly conquered had not yet receiued quiet subiection: yet hee gaue himselfe continually to feasting and banqueting, where women were euer present, not such to whome men had respect of honestie, but harlots, which had there more libertie thẽ was beseemieg in the companie of men of warre. Amongst them there was one Thais, who vpon a day in her dronkennes, affirmed to Alexander that he should wonderfully win the fauor of the Grékes, if he would commaund the Pallace of Persepolis th bee sette on fire. The destruction whereof (she saide) they greatly desired, for so much as the same was the chiefe seate of the kings of Persia, which in time past had destroi-

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ed so many great Cities: When the dronken harlot had giuen her sentence, there were other present, who being likewise dronken, confirmed her words. Alexãder then that had in him more inclination of heate, then of patience, said: Why do we not then reuenge Greece, and set this Citie on fire? They were all chafed with drinking and rose immediatly vpon those words to burn that Citie in their dronkennes, which the men of war had spared in their fury. The king himselfe first, and after his guests, his seruants and his concubines set fire in the Pallace, which being builded for the most part of Ceder trees, became sodeinly in a flame. When the army that was encamped neere vnto the Citie saw the fire which they thought had beene kindled by some casualtie, they came running to quench ỹ same againe. But when they saw the king there present nourishing the fire, they poured downe the water which they brought, and helped likewise the matter forwards. Thus the Palaice ỹ was the head of the whole Orient, frem whence so many nations before had fetched their lawes to liue vnder, the seat of so many kings, the onelie terror sometime of Greece, the same that hath beene the sender forth of the Nauies of nine M. shippes, and of the armyes that ouerflowed all Europe, that made bridges ouer the Sea, and vndermined mountaines where the Sea hath nowe his course: was consumed & had his end, and neuer rose againe in all the age that did en-

sue. For the kinges of Macedon vsed other Cities, which be now in the Persians hands. The destruction of this Citie was such, that the foũdation thereof at this daye could not be founde, but that the Riuer of Araxes doth shew where it stoode, which was distant from Persepolis xx. furlonges, as the inhabitantes rather do beleeue then knowe. The Macedons were ashamed that so noble a citie was destroied by their king in his dronkennesse: yet at length it was turned into an earnest matter, and they were contente to thinke it expedient that the citie should haue beene destroyed after that manner. But it is certeine, that when Alexander had taken his rest, and was become better aduised, he repented him of his doing and saide: That the Persians should haue done the Greekes more harm if it had beene his chaunce to haue reigned in Xerres steede. The next day he gaue xxx. talents for a reward to him that was his guide into Persia, and from thence he toke his iourney into Medea, where a new supplye of souldiers (of whome Plato of Athens had ỹ conductiõ) came to him out of Cilicia, beeing v. C. footmen, and a thousand horsemen. When he had by this meanes encreased his power, he determined to pursue Darius, who was come to Ecathana ỹ head Citie of Medea, & was purposed from thence to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be preuented by the speede his enemies made, altered his purpose and his iourneye. Alexander was

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not come nére him by a M.v.C.furlonges, but he coulde not thinke any distaunce sufficient to defende him against his celeritie, and therefore prepared himselfe rather to fighte then to flie. He had with him xxx.M.fotmen, amongst whō there were iiij.M.Grékes, whose fidelitie neuer fayled in all his aduerse fortune. He had also iiij. M.Archers and Slingers, besides thrée M. thrée C.Bactrian horsemen, which were vnder Bessus charge, being gouernour both of the Citie of Bactria, and the Countrey. Darius with hys bande withdrewe a little from the high waye, and commaunding the verlettes, with suche as had charge of the caryage to passe on before, called a Counsayle, and spake these wordes vnto them.

IF fortune had matched mée with cowardes, & with such as estemed any kind of life before an honest death, I would rather haue holden my peace, then consumed my wordes in vayne. Vnt I haue had greater experience then I would wish, both of your valiant courage and fidelitie towardes mée. So that I for my parte ought rather labour to séeme worthie to haue suche frendes as you are, then to doubt whether yée yet remayne the same menne towardes me that ye were before. For of so many thousands that were vnder mine Empire, you onely haue followed and sticked by mée, when I was twise ouerthrowne in the field, and twise enforced to flie away. Your fidelitie and your constancy maketh me thinke that I remaine still a king. Traytours and fugitiues reigne in my Cities, not for that they be thought worthy of such honour, but that you might be prouoked by their rewardes to reuolt against me. Notwithstāding, you haue chosen rather to folow mée in my misfortune, then be partakers of the victorers felicitie. You are worthy, whome the Gods shall rewarde, if I may not, as vndoubtedly they will.

There can no posteritie be so silent, nor no fame so vngratefull, which shall not with due commendations extoll you to the starres. Though I was determined still to haue fled, where-unto my heart neuer agreed: yet nowe I haue conceiued such a trust of your vertue and manhode, that I purpose to passe against mine enemies. How long shall I be as a banished man within mine owne dominion, and flie from a straunge and a forreine Prince within the bounds of mine own kingdome? When I may hazarding of the battaile, eyther recouer that I haue lost, or els dye an honest death? Except peraduenture it seemeth better to some menne, that I shoulde submit my selfe to mine enemies will, and by the example of Mazeus & Withzenes, receiue by petition the dominion of some one Nation: wherin I iudge that Alexander had rather followe the inclination of his glory then of his wrath. No let the gods neuer graunt that it may lie in any mans power, either to take away, or giue vnto me this Diademe vpon my head, nor that I loose this Empire so long as I haue breath. For in this I am determined, that my life and my kingdome shall end both togither. If this mynde remaine likewise in you, and if this lawe bee grafted in your hearts: there is none of you that can want libertie, there is none that shall be compelled to endure the yrksomnes of your enemies, neither their proud porte, nor their stately lookes. Euery mans right hande shall then giue vnto himselfe either a reuenge, or an ende of all these euilles. Nothing can stand long in one staye. I my selfe am example of the alteration of fortune: & therefore it is not without cause that I looke for a better chaunge. And if the worst fall, that the Gods will needes be against vs in our warres that be lawfull and honest, yet it cannot be taken from vs, but that we may alwaies manfully and honestly die. I require & make intercession vnto you by the honor of our predecessors, that with such fame and glorie possessed the kingdomes of the whole Orient, by those men to whom Macedon sometime was tributary, by so many Navies of ships sent into Greece, and by so many victories wonne, that ye will take such courage and heart vnto you, as maye seeme worthy your nobilitie and your nation. So that

with the same constancie of mynd wherewith ye haue endured things past, you will proue and attempt what soeuer fortune sends to you hereafter. I am resolued for my part to gette my selfe either perpetuall fame by the victory, or by the notable aduenture we will giue for the winning thereof.

When Darius had spoken these words, the representation of the present perill so amazed them all, that they were not able to shewe their aduyse, or to speake a worde to the matter, till such time as Artabasus the moste auncient of his frendes (which before time had bene with king Philip) began to say his fantasy.

We are come into the field (quoth he) with you that is our king, in our moste pretious apparell, and richest armour, with the intent to win the victory: and if necessitie require, not to refuse death.

To whose words al the rest with their voices semed to agree sauing Nabarzanes, who being present in that councell with Bessus, and of his opinion, conspired a treason so wonderfull, that the like hath seldom been heard of before. Their determinatiõ was, by force of the souldiers they had vnder their charge, to put their king in hold with this purpose, that if Alexander pursued them, to deliuer him then aliue into his handes to win his fauor, as a thing which they thought he would esteeme greatly. But if they could escape conueniently, then they were in minde to kill Darius, and deuiding the kingdom betwixt them, renue againe the warre against the Macedons. They hauing imagined this treasõ long before in their minds, Nabarzanes thought this

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an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent, by a perswasiõ which he ther vttered.

I knowe (quoth he) that I shall speake the thyng which in the first appearance shall not be grateful vnto your eares: but Phisitions vse to cure diseases that be great, with sharpe and bitter medicines. And the shipmaisters when they feare a ship-wracke, accustome to redeeme such things as may be saued, with the destruction and losse of the rest. Yet this matter that I meane is no perswasion to losse, but a deuise by what meanes ye may preserue your selfe & your kingdome. We make a war wherin the Gods seeme manifestly to be against vs, & fortune ceaseth not obstinatly to pursue vs. It is needfull therfore that we lay new foundations, & seeke out men which haue other fortune. My opiniõ is ther fore, that you deliuer your kingdome vnto some mans handes which shall haue the name of king, so long as your enemies remaine within Asia. And when they be once departed (which my mind giueth me to be shortly) he shall restore the same vnto you againe. The cuntrey of Bactria is yet vntouched, the Indians & Sacans be at your appointment, so many people, so many armyes, so many thousandes of horsemen and footmen haue their force in readinesse to renue this war againe. So that a muche greater force remaineth then that which is consumed. Why doo we then like beastes wilfully run to a destruction that is not necessary? It is the propertie of such as be menne of courage, rather to despise death then hate the life, & oftentimes by wearines of trauaile, cowardes are driuen to take litle regarde of themselues. But vertue leaueth nothing vnproued, & death being the end of all things, it is sufficient if we go not to it like sluggards. Therefore if we shall go into Bactria, which is nowe our next refuge: lette vs for this times sake make Bessus king, who is already ruler of that countrey, and when the matters be once brought to some stay, he shall restore to you the Empire againe, as to the righteous king.

Although Darius perceiued not the greatnes of the mischiefe that laye hidden vnder hys wicked

wicked wordes, yet it was no maruaile though he could not abstaine: for hee turned towardes him, and said: Thou vile slaue, hast thou nowe found out a time meete to disclose the treason y lyeth in thy hart: & therewithall pulled out his sword to haue slaine him, if Bessus & the other Bactriãs about him had not letted his purpose. These pretended to be sorie for the matter, but minded in very deed to bind him, if he had continued in his purpose. In the mean season Nabarzanes escaped away, and Bessus followed after, who immediately did seperate the bandes they had charge of, from the reste of the armye, because they would vse them aparte to their purpose. When they were departed, Artabazus framed his talke according to the estate of the time then present, and began to pacifie Darius with words, putting him in remembrance, how his case was such, that it behoued him to beare quietly the folishnes or rather the errour of his owne men, for as much as Alexander was at hande ouer sore an enemy for them, though ther were no discord nor disobedience. But if we shal be at variaunce (quoth hee) when he doth pursue vs, our matters shall stande in verye euill plight. Thereupon Darius enclined somwhat to Artabazus aduise, & though he was determined to remoue: yet because he perceiued euerie man to be troubled in minde, remained still in y same place. But hee himselfe was so astonied with sorowe and desperation, that he kept him

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selfe close and came not forth of his pauileon: Wherupon the campe being without gouernement, the heads not consulting togither as they did before, there arose amongst them great diuersitie of opinions, & motions of mind. Which thing when Patron sawe, that was Capitaine of the Grecke souldiers, he willed his menne to put on their armour, to bee in a readines to doe what they shall be appointed. The Persians encamped by themselues, and Bessus remained amongst the Bactrians, practising to cary away the Persians into Bactria, and to leaue Darius: signifiyng to them the riches of that Regiõ, yet vntouched, and the perill they were in if they remained still. But they were all in maner of one opinion, ỹ it was too great an offence for them to forsake their Prince. In the meane season Artabasus executed the kinges office, and went amongst their lodgings, admonishing and exhorting them, sometimes aparte, and otherwhile altogither, and would neuer leaue them, before they would doe as the king woulde haue them. That done with great paine and difficultie, he perswaded Darius to take his meat, and to set his minde vpon his busines. But Bessus and Nabarzanes were so grædie to get the gouernement into their handes, that they resolued to put in execution the thing they had long conspired betwixt them. For so long as Darius was in sauegarde, they coulde not hope to compasse nor attaine to so great power & authoritie:

fye: the maiestie of a king is had in so great veneration amongst those nations: at whose onelie name they assemble together, and the reuerence vsed to them in theyr prosperitie, cause men to shew them the like obedience in aduersitie. The greatnes and power of the Countries whereof, Bessus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not being inferior to anie other nations in that part of the world, either in men, in furniture, or largenes of their territory, gaue a great encourage vnto their wicked dispositions in attempting of this matter. For they possessing the third part of Asia, were able to make as great number of men, as Darius before had lost. In confidence whereof, they not onelie despised Darius, but Alexander himselfe, purposing when they were once become Lords of that Cuntrie, to reenforce from thence againe the power of the Empire, and maintaine the warres against the Macedons. When they had long deuised and debated these thinges, they determined to take Darius by the Bactrian souldiers, of whō they had the rule, and then to sende word to Alexander that they reserued them aliue, to deliuer him vnto his handes. And if so be that Alexander should not accept their doing, (which in dēde they doubted) then their purpose was to kill Darius, and with their power to flye into Bactria. But forsomuch as they saw that Darius could not be taken openlie, seeing there were so manie thousands readie to ayde him:

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and fearing also the fidelitie of the Grèekes, determyned to worke by sleighte the thing, that they could not bring to passe by force. Their deuise was to counterfeyte a repentaunce of their former doinges, in creusing to the King the feare they were in. And in the meane season they sent certeine to practise with the Persians, and to proue their minds. The souldiers were tossed to and fro with hope and feare. Some tyme they thought that by leauing of their king they shoulde commit them-selues to manifeste ruyne and destruction: and again they remembred what entertaynement was promised them in Bactria that laye open for them, where they shoulde bee receyued with such giftes and ryches as they coulde not well imagine. Whileste Bessus and Mabarzanes were beatyng of theese thinges in their heades, Artabazus came vnto them, declaring howe Darius was well pacified, and that they mighte if they woulde, bee in the same estate and degree wyth hym that they were in before. There-uppon they fell to weeping and purging of them-selues, requiring Artabasus that hee woulde take vppon him the defence of their cause, and carye their requeste and submissiõ vnto the kyng. The night was consumed in this kinde of businesse. When it was daye Mabarzanes with the Bactrian Souldiers stoode at the entrye of the kynges lodgyng, colouring his priuye Treason wyth a solempne pretence of doing his duetie.

Darius

Darius caused warning to bee giuen for his remoue, and so mounted vppon his chariot after his accustomed maner. Nabarzanes and the other traytors fell vpon the ground to woorship him, and shed teares in token of repentance, notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so apt to dissimulation. Darius being of a simple and gentle nature, was enforced through their behauiour not onely to beléeue that they pretended, but also caused hym to weepe for ioye: yet that could not cause the traytoures to alter their purpose, when they perceiued what kynde of manne, and what manner of Prince they wente about to deceiue. Darius doubting nothing of his perill ý was nert at hand, made all the haste he could to escape Alexander, whome he onelye doubted. Patron that was capitaine of the Grecians, commaunded his souldiers to put on their harnesse, which they caried before in trusses, and to bee readie and attende to euerye thing that should bee appoynted them. For hee vnderstanding the Treason that Bessus wente about, followed the kinges Chariot, séeking occasion to speake with him. And Bessus doubting the same thing, would not depart frō the Chariot, but followed rather as a watch, then a wayter. Patron therefore hauing taryed long, and interrupted oftentimes as he was about to speake, stode in a staye betwixt feare and fidelitie, beholding the king in the face.

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When Darius perceiued that he beheld him after that manner, he willed Bubace his Eunuche that rode next him, to enquire of Patron if he had anie thing to saie to him. Patron said yea: but his matter was such as he woulde no man should heare. Then he was willed to come neare, and without anie interpretour (Darius vnderstãding somewhat of the Greeke tongue) Patron said vnto him.

Syr of fyftie thousand Grecks that serued you, there is a small number of vs remayning, which haue continuallie followed you in all foztunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that we did in your most flozishing estate. And are determined whersoeuer you be, to take that for our Countrie and home: both prosperitie and aduersitie hath so coupled vs together. By which inuincible fydelitie that is in vs, I desire you, and require you, that you would vouchsaie to lodge within our campe, & suffer vs to be the guard of your person. We haue lost Greece, we haue no Bactria to goe vnto, all our hope is in you, and God grant that all otherwen had the like. It is not necessarie I should speake anie moze, noz would not demaunde the custodie of your person being an alyen and a stranger, if I knewe that others were well minded towards you.

Although Bessus was ignozaunt of ỹ Greeke tongue, yet his conscience pricked him to beleeue that Patron had disclosed some such matter, and therefoze carrying away some parte of his wozds, by a Greeke interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his countenaunce, enquired of Patrõ what moued him to giue him such aduice: Wherevpon he thought good not to differre it

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any longer, but saide: Bessus and Nabarzanes worke treason against you, so that your life and your estate stand in extreme perill, and this day shalbe the last eyther to the traytors, or to you. Whose words if Darius had well weighed and regarded, Patron had receyued great glorye of the preseruation of his Prince. But lette them mocke that list, which be perswaded that ỹ state of man is gouerned at aduenture and by chaũce but I beleeue that euery man runneth his race by an immutable order, and an euerlasting appointment, by a knitting togither of causes vnknowne appointed long before. Darius answer was: that although the fidelitie of the Greeke souldiers was sufficiently knowne vnto hym, yet he was determined neuer to departe frõ his owne nation, by whom though he might be deceiued, yet it was harde for him to mistrust thẽ: whatsoeuer should chaunce to him, he saide, hée was minded rather to suffer it amõgst his own subiects, then to part away from them, not desiring to liue, if his owne souldiers desired not his sauegarde. Whereupon Patron despeyring of the kinges well doing, returned them of whom he had the charge, ready to aduenture any thing for his sake. Bessus in the meane season had vtterly determined to slea Darius, but fearing ỹ he could not winne Alexanders fauor except hee deliuered his enemie into his handes aliue, deferred his purpose to the night folowing. In the meane season he came to Darius, and gaue him

thanks, that he had so warily & with such wisedome auoided the treason of that false Grecian, who being corrupted by Alexander, sought nothing but howe to make a present of his heade: whereat (he saide) he could not marueile, that a Mercenary man should leaue any thing vndon for money, being without any pledge of his honestie, without house & home, banished out of ỹ world, a faint friend, and a doubtfull enemy, tossed here & there at the backe of all men, that wil corrupt him. And then he fell to purging of himselfe, calling the Gods of his countrey to witnes of his innocencie in the matter. Darius by hys countenance seemed to beleeue: yet hee doubted not of the truth of the tale that Patron had told him: but he was come to such a point, that it was as daungerous for him not to beleeue hys owne men, as to be deceiued. There were xxx. thousand, whose lightnes was feared to haue consented to this conspiracie: and Patron had but foure thousand, to whom if he had committed his sauegarde, & thereby condemned the fidelitie of his owne nation, he sawe that then they might haue had thereof a goodly colour and a pretence to performe the thing that they wente about, and therefore chose rather to be killed innocently, then to giue any occasion whereby he should seeme to haue deserued death. And yet when Bessus purged himselfe, he answered: ỹ he knew there was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhood, and that they were deceiued that

loked for any reward of treason at his handes, knowing there was no surer punisher nor reuẽger of the breach of fidelitie. When the night drewe neere, the Persians after their accustomed maner put off their armour, and repaired to the next villages to prouide thinges necessary. But the Bactrians (as Bessus had commanded them) stood still armed. In the meane season Darius had sente for Artabasus, & shewed hym what Patron had declared. Whereupon Artabasus made no doubt, but that he should streight waies commit himselfe amongst the Grecians, thinking that the Persians when the kings perill should be published abroad, would ioin with them. Yet Darius predestinate to his chance, could not beare then any wholesome counsayle, nor sought for any helpe in that case, but embraced Artabasus as though hee shoulde neuer see him more, and beeing wette with the teares that one of them let fall vppon an other, caused Artabasus to be remoued from him, & because hee would not see his sorrowe in departing from him, he couered his face, and fell flatte vpon the ground. Then such as were accustomed to the guarde of his person, which should haue beene his defence in all perilles, fledde away, thinking themselues ouer weake for such a number of armed men as they supposed to bee comming. Then there was great solitarines within hys lodging: for none remained about the king, but a fewe Eunuches, that had no place to re-

paire vnto. Then he debated and deuised wyth himselfe alone, sometime one thing, and sometime another: and by and by he wared wearye of that solitarines which before hee toke for a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whom he beheld and saide.

Go prouide for your selues, which according to your duetics haue bœn true to your prince til the last houre. Hœre I dw tary for the fatall law of my destinie. Peradduenture ye do marueyle that I do not end mine own life. I had rather die through other mens wickednesse, then by mine owne.

After those wordes, Bubace filled both the kinges lodging, and also the whole campe wyth mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and tearing their clothes, bewailed his case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Persians, they were so amased for feare, that they durst neither put on their armour, least they might giue occasion to the Bactrians to set vpō them, nor they could not remaine quiet, least thei might sœm so wickedly to leaue their king. There were clamors throughout the campe of diuers sortes and tunes, without any head, and without any appointment. Such as pertained to Nabarzanes and Bessus, deceiued by such lamentation as they heard, brought tydings to the rest, that the King had killed himselfe. Whereupon they repaired thither so fast as they could gallop, and such followed after as they had chosen to be ministers of their mischiefe. Whē they

were

were entered into the kinges pauileon, becauſe the Eunuches declared that he was aliue, they commaunded him to be bound. Thus he which before was caried in a Chariot, and honored of his men like a God, was made priſoner by hys owne ſeruants without any forreine power, & put into a vyle Cart couered ouer with beaſtes ſkinnes: and ſpoyle was made of the kinges ſtuffe, in ſuch ſort, as if it had bëne taken in the warres. And when they had laden themſelues with the pray gottẽ after ſo foule a maner, they conueyed themſelues into their countreys. But Artabaſus with thoſe of whõ he had the charge and with the Grecke ſouldiers, toke the waye towards Parthina, thinking to be more ſure any where, then in the fellowſhip of thoſe traytors. The Perſians whõ Beſſus had burdened with ſo many faire promiſes, ſpecially becauſe they had no other man to followe, ioyned themſelues to the Bactrians, and the third day ouertoke them. But to the intent Darius ſhould not want ſuch honour as was due vnto his eſtate, Beſſus cauſed him to be bound with golden fetters: ſuche were the deſpites that his Fortune made him ſubiect vnto. And for that he ſhoulde not be knowne by his apparell, they couered the cart with foule hydes of beaſtes, and cauſed vnknowne men to driue it forwards. And leaſt by enquiry in ỹ army he might be diſcouered, ſuch as had the charge of him followed a farre off.

When Alexander heard that Darius was re-

moued to Echatane, he lefte the way that hee was in, and with all the spéede that he coulde make, followed after Darius that was saide to be gone into Medea. But when Alexander was come to Taba, which is the chiefe Citie of Parataceu, it was there shewed him by fugitiues that came out of Darius campe, howe he was fled with all spéed into Bactria. And afterwards vnderstood the matter more certeinly by Bagistenes of Babylon, who could not affirme directly that Darius was vsed as a prisoner, but declared that either he was in daunger of death or of captiuitie. Alexander vpon those newes called his Capitaines togither, and shewed them that hee had a great enterprise, but such one as the trauaile was very short. Darius (he saide) was not farre off, forsaken of his owne menne, and either taken as a prisoner or els slain. In whose person he shewed the whole victorie to consist, & the greatnes of the matter to be a reward sufficient of their haste making. They all cried with one voice that they were readye to followe him where he would go, and that he should not spare their labour nor their perill, whereupon he conueied his army forwards with maruelous spéed rather in post, then after the common order of marching, neither resting day nor night, til they had passed .C. furlongs, & come to the village where Darius was taken. There Melun Darius interpretour, who by reason of his sickenes could not followe the army, was taken through

Alexan-

Alexanders celeritie, who feyning that he fledde away from his maister, declared the whole matter: but howe great soeuer his desire was to ouertake his enemies, it was necessary for him to giue his men rest of their trauaile: so ỹ determining to leaue the rest of his army behind, did chose out sixe M. horsemen, and added to them thrée C. called Dimichas that were footemen, he auy harnessed, but yet riding on horsebacke, and when the matter and place required, lighted and fought on foote. When Alexander was taking order about these thinges: Orsellus and Mithracenes, which for the hatred they bare to Bessus for his treason, fledde from him, declaring to the king that the Persians were but fiue C. furlonges off, and proffered to guide hym by a néerer way. Their comming was gratefull to the king: for by their conduction in the beginning of the night, he toke his iourney with such horsemen as he had appointed, willing his foote battaile to followe after with all spéede possible. Hee marched forwardes in a square battayle, and kepte such an order, that he first might ioyn with the last, and such as came behind relieued them that went before. When they had passed CCC. furlongs on their way, Broculus the son of Phazeus, that sometime had béene gouernour of Siria, mette Alexander, and declared that Bessus was within twoo hundred furlonges, marching with his men out of all order, as one that dyd casse no doubtes. It séemed to him (he

saide) that they went towards Hircania: wherefore if haste were made, they might sone bee ouertaken, and dispersckled heere and there out of all aray. And by reason he affirmed that Darius was also yet aliue: Alexander that was hot before in his pursuit, was with his words much more pricked forwardes, so that he caused them to put spurres to their horses, & passed forwards a gallop, going so farre forth, that they might heare the noise of their enemies as they marched. But the dust ỳ arose dimmed their sight: and therefore he stayed a while till the dust was banished away. Then both Bessus perceyued the Macedons, and they sawe the Persians as they fledde. Notwithstanding they had not bẽn able to haue matched with them, if Bessus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his maister. For besides that they exceeded the Macedons in number and power, they forewearied and sore traueyled, should haue had to dw wyth them that were lusty and freth. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres, put them in such fear, that they could not stay themselues. Then Bessus, and other that were partners of the conspiracie, came to the cart where Darius was, and perswaded hym to leape on horsebacke, and flye from his enemies that were at hande. But hee crying out that the Gods were come to hys reuenge, and calling for the assistance of Alexander, saide: that in no wyse hee would goe wyth

tray-

toes: wherewith they were so stirred to wrath that they threwe dartes at him, and lefte him wounded in manye places of his bodye. They thrust in the beastes that drewe the cart, to the intent they should not be able to passe forwards and slewe his two seruantes that did wayte vpon him. When they had committed this acte, they thought it expedient to disperse themselues in their flying. And so Nabarzanes toke hys way to Hircania, and Bessus to Bactria, with a fewe horsemen that eche of them had in their companye. When their souldiours were forsaken of their Capitaines: they scattered hyther and there, where hope and feare did lead them. There were onelye fiue hundred horsemen, which assembled themselues togither, and stood in a mammering whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexander vnderstanding the feare his enemies were in, sent Nicanor before wyth part of his horsemen to keepe them occupyed, and he with the rest followed after. There were slaine to the number of three thousand of suche as stode at their defence, and the rest were dryuen in flockes like beasts: from killing of whō Alexander commaunded his men to abstaine. Amongst all the prisoners there was none that was able to shewe the Cart that caryed Darius: for euery one was so desirous to finde hym, that as they sawe anye Carte, they sought hym therein: and yet they could perceiue by no meanes where hee was become. Alexander made

such

such haste, that scarcely three thousand horsemē followed him of all his number: but the greate number of the Persians fell into their laps that followed behind. It is scarcely credible to be beléeued, that there should bee more prisoners taken, then there was men to take them. But fortune in that feare had so taken away their sēce, that they could not consider their owne multitude, nor the small number of their enemies. In the meane season thē beasts that drew Darius wagon, hauing no man to gouerne them, were swarued out of the high way, and wandering here & there, had drawne Darius foure furlōgs from the place where he was wounded, into a valley where they fainted, by reason of their heate and their hurtes. There was a spring at hande, which certeine that knewe the countrey had shewed to Polystratus a Macedon, ỹ was ouercome for thirst. And whilest he was drinking water out of his helmet, he spyed the beastes that were thrust in with dartes, and marueiling that they were not rather caryed away, then hurte after that manner: hee loked, and founde in the soule carte the bodye of a manne halfe aliue, and at length perceyued it was Darius that laye there sore wounded, and drawing of hys breath. Then Polystratus brought to him a Persian whome he had taken prisoner. Whome when Darius knewe by his voyce to be of his countrey, he saide: that he toke it for a comfort of his present fortune, that he shoulde

speake

speake before he dyed to one that vnderstode hym, and not vtter hys laste wordes in vayne. He required him to declare vnto Alexander, That though hee had neuer deserued any thing at hys handes, yet it was his chaunce to dis greatly his debtour, and had thankes to giue him for the fauour and godnesse that he had shewed towards his mother, hys wife, and his children, to whome he had not only granted life, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas hee of his kinsmen and frendes, to whome hee had giuen both life and landes, was newe by them bereaued of all. Hee prayed therefore that hee might alwaies be victorer, and that the Empire of the whole world might come into his handes, requiring that hee would not neglecte to take vengeaunce of so foule an acte, not onely for his cause, but for example and the loue of other Princes: which shoulde be a thing honourable vnto him, and profitable in time comming.

When he had spoken these wordes, he fainted & calling for water, after he had dronke, saide to Polistratus that presented it vnto him.

Whatsoeuer thou art, this is vnto me the last misery in all my aduerse chance, that I am not able to requite thee this benefite. But Alexander shall rewarde thee, and the Gods shall requite him for his great humanitie and clemencie shewed towards myne. Vnto whom in my behalfe thou shalt giue my hande as a pledge of a kinges promise.

And hauing spoken these wordes, and giuen Polistratus his hand, he died. Whē his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corps lay, & there bewailed with teares that it was his chaunce to dy a death so vnworthy for so great an estate, and taking of his own cloke to couer the dead corpes withall, adorned

ned the the same with all things that pertayned to a king, and sent it to his mother Sisigambis to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to bury kings, and to be laide amongst the reste of hys predecessors.

¶Here the first part of the sixt booke doth want wherein was conteined the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons : with the preparation of both nations to the battaile that was fought betwixt Antipater Alexanders Lieutenatn in Macedonia, and the king of the Lacedemonians.

¶THE SIXT BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.

HE preased forwardes where the fight was most daungerous, and seeing such as made moste resistaunce, put the greater parte of his enemies to flight. Then such as were victorers before began to flie, till they had drawne their enemies greedily following them, out of the streight into a more playne ground. In the retire many of thē were slaine: but when they had once recouered such a ground whereas they might stay and fal in order; the battailes ioyned equally againe on both sides. Amongst them al the king of the Lacedemonians appeered most notable in al mens eyes, not so much by the beautie of his armour and goodly personage, as through the greatnesse of his courage, wherein onely he could not be ouercome. Yee was laide to on all partes, both neere hande, and a farre off. Yet for all that, hee endured long in Armes against his enemies, auoyding their strokes part with his target, and part with his bodie, till such time as hee was thrust through both thighes with a speare, whē by

by great effusion of bloud he was not able anye longer to endure the fight: Then the esquiers for his body toke him vp vpon his Target, and caried him into their campe, that with great paine endured the stirring of his woundes. The Lacedemonians for all their kinges departure gaue not ouer the fight, but assoon as they could recouer any ground of aduauntage, they closed themselues in battaile togither, and receiued stoutly their enemies that came sul vpon them. There is not found in any memorie, of a battell more vehemently fought then that, where the armyes of two nations that were most excellent in the warres contended together for the victorie, not enclining to anye parte. The Lacedemonians called to mind their auncient mãhode and prowesse, and the Macedons considered their presente estimation they had in the world: the Lacedemonians striued for libertie, and the Macedons for the souereignty. The one party lacked a Capitaine, and the other roume to fight in. The manifolde aduentures & chaunces that fell that daye, encreased both the hope and feare of both parties: Fortune as it were of purpose bringing such valiaunt men to fighte togither, neyther of them preuayling vppon other. But the streightnes of the place wherein they fought, did not suffer them to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, and such as stode without daunger, encouraged the other with their crie.

crie. At length the Lacedemonians beganne to faynt, and scarcely able for sweating to sustaine their armour, beganne to drawe backe to haue the more libertie to fly from their enemies that preased sore vppon them. When they were once broken and scattered abroade, the victourers pursued after. And passing the place wher vppon the Lacedemonians battaile was firste arrainged, made a sore pursuite vppon Agis: who seing his men flying, and his enemies approch at hand, willed his men to set him down: where stretching himselfe, to feele if the force of his bodie could aunswere vnto his hart. When he founde himselfe vnable to stande, remaining vppon his knees hee put on his helmet, and couering his bodye with his Target, shaked his speare, and prouoked his enemies to draw neere if any were desirous of the spoile: but ther was not one that preased neere him, but did cast darts a farre off, which hee alwaies toke and threwe at his enemies againe, till such time as he was thrust into the bare brest with a speare. But when the same was pulled out of the wound, he faynted, and bowing himselfe vpon his target, shortlye after fell downe deade, bloud and lyfe fayling bothe together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians, fiue thousands, three hundred and forty: of the Macedõs not passing three hundred. But there was scarcelie any of them that escaped vnbownd. This victorie brake the hearts, not onelie of the Lacedemonians and

of their confederates, but also of other which lay in wayte lōking for the successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant howe the countenaunces of such as did gratify his victorie, differed much from the intentes of their harts: but desirous to finish the warres that was begunne perceiued it necessary for him to dissemble, and suffer himselfe to be deceiued. And though he reioiced much in the fortune of the thing, yet hee feared the enuy that might ensue thereof beeing a greater matter then the estate of a lieutenant did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that he desired that his enemies had wonne the victorie: shewing manifestly that he was not cōtented with Antipaters good successe: thinking that what honour soeuer chaunced to any other man, was a derogation to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knewe full well his stomacke, durst not vse the victorie according to his own wil, but assembled a councel of Grecks to aduise what they thought expedient. The Lacedemonians made no other request, but ỹ they might send embassadors vnto Alexander, which vpon their repaire to him, and their suite made obteined a generall pardon for all men, sauing for such as were the authors of the rebellion. The Megapolitans, whose Citie did abyde the siege, were compelled to pay as a fine for their rebellion xx. talents to the Athenians, and the Aetolians. This was the end of the war, which beeing sodeinly begun, was ended before that Alexan-

lexander had ouerthrowne Darius at Arbella. Assone as his minde was deliuered of those present cares, as one that could beare better the warres then quietnes, hee gaue himselfe all to pleasures, by the vices whereof hee was ouercome, whome no power of the Persians, or any other was able to subdue. He was giuen to banqueting out of season, and to a fonde delight of drinking, and watching in playes among flocks of Concubines, that drewe him into straunge maners and customes. Which he following as thinges better then his countrey vsages, offended thereby greatly both the eyes and the harts of his nation, and caused manye that loued hym before entirely, to hate him then as an enemie. For the Macedons that were obstinate in keeping their owne discipline, and accustomed not to be curious, but so scarse in their diet as might suffice nature, when they sawe him go about to bring in amongst them the vices of those nations which they had subdued: conspiracies then began to be made against him, mutinie rose amongst the souldiers, and euerie one complayning to another, freely vttered their griefs, wherby he was prouoked to wrath, to suspition, and sodeine feare, diuers other inconueniences ensuing thereupon, which shall be declared hereafter. Alexander being giuen as it hath been said before to vnreasonable banqueting, wherein he consumed both day and night: when he was satisfyed of eating and drinking, passed ouer the

time with playes and pastimes. And not contented with such Musitians as he brought out of Grece, caused the women that were captiue, to sing before him such songes as abhorred ẏ eares of the Macedons not accustomed to heare such thinges. Amongst those women Alexander spyed one more sadde then the rest, which wyth a certein shamefastnes did striue with them that brought her forth. She was of excellent beautie, and through her shamefastnes her beautie was augmented. Because she did cast her eyes towardes the earth, couering her face so much as she might: gaue suspition for him to thynke that she was come of greater nobilitie, then ẏ she ought to be brought in such kinde of pastimes. And therefore being demaunded what she was: she shewed her selfe to be the Néece of Dechus, that lately reigned in Persia, and the wife of Histaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had béene his Lieutenant ouer great armyes. There yet remained in the kinges heart some small sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect of her estate, being come of a Kinges bloud, and the reuerence he bare to such a name, as ẏ Néece of Dechus, commaunded her not onely to be set frée, but also to bée restored to her goodes and her husband, whom he willed to bee sought out. The nexte day hee appoynted Ephestion to bring all the prisoners vnto the court, where enquyring of the nobilitie of euery one, cõmanded them which were descended of noble bloud

to be seuered from the reste, amongst whome they founde Oratres brother to Darius, ỹ was no lesse noble of mind then of bloud. There was made of the laste spoile xxvj. thousand talentes, wherof xy. thousand were cõsumed in reiwards amongst the men of warre: and the summe amounted to no lesse value that was conueied away by them that had the keping therof. There was one Oridates a noble man of Persia, that was put in prison by Darius, and appointed to suffer death, whome Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto him the seignozie of Medea, and receiued Darius brother amongst the number of his frendes, reseruing to him all the accustomed honor of his Nobilitie. Then they came to the countrey of Parthenia, then beeing but obscure and vnknowne: but nowe the head of all these countreys which lye vpon Tiger & Euphrates, and be bounded with the red sea. This countrie being fruitful and aboundant of all things, was taken by the Scithians, which possessing parte of Asia and Europe, be troublesome neighbours to them both. The Scithians which inhabite vpon the Bospheron sea, are ascribed to be in Asia. And such as be in Europe possesse the countreyes lying on the left side of Thrace, so far as Boristhenes: and from thence right forth so far as the Riuer Thanais, ỹ parteth Europe & Asia. It is certeine that the Scithes, of whome the Persians bee discended, came not from Bospheron, but out of Europe. There was a

noble Citie in those daies, called Hecatomphi-
tos, builded by the Grækes, where Alexander
remained with his army, conueighing vitayles
thither from all partes. Amongst the souldiers
lying there in idlenesse, there rose sodeinly a ru-
mour, entred into their heads without any cer-
teine authour or beginning. The rumor was,
how that Alexander satisfyed with the acts that
he had done, purposed immediately to retourne
into Macedon. This fame was not so soon sown
abroad, but that they ranne like madde men to
their lodginges, and trussed vp their baggage &
their stuffe: making such preparation to depart
that euery man iudged warning had bene gy-
uen to remoue, & that the thing had bene done
by appointment. The tumult that did rise in ỹ
campe by loding of cariages, and by the calling
the one made vnto another, came vnto ỹ kinges
eares. This rumor obteined the soner credit by
the dispatch of certeine Græke souldiers, whom
Alexander had dismissed into their cuntry, with
the gift of sixe thousand deniers to euery horse-
man: thereupon taking occasion to thinke that
the warre was at an ende. Alexander, whose
purpose was to passe into India, and the vtter-
most boundes of the Orient, was no lesse afraid
of this matter, then the case required. And ther-
fore calling before him the Captaines of his ar-
mye, with the teares in his eyes made a greate
complaint vnto them: that in the middle course
of his glorie he should thus be pulled backe, and

com-

compelled to retourne into his countrey rather as a man vanquished then as a victozer. Which misfoztune (he saide) he coulde not impute to his souldiers, noz iudge that their cowardnes did giue impediment to his pzocéedinges, but y it was onely the enuye of the Gods, that put so sodeine a desire of their countrey into ỹ mindes of valiaunt men, which within a while shoulde haue retourned with greater glozie and fame. There-uppon they all pzomised to trauell in reformation of the matter, offering them-selues in all thinges (were they neuer so difficult) to doe as he would haue them. And they pzomised also the obedience of the souldiers, if so bee that he would make some gentle and apt ozation to pacifie them: which were neuer yet séene to depart from him in any desperation oz disturbãce of mind, if they once behelde the chéerefulnes of his countenance, & the courage pzocéeding from his hart. Ye pzomised so to do, & required at their hand to pzepare in the multitude an aptnes to giue him eare. When all thinges were pzepared which were thought expedient foz the purpose, he assembled all his army togither, & made this Dzation vnto them.

When ye consider (my souldiers) the greatnes of the actes which ye haue don, and the manifolde conquests that yee haue made, it is no marueile at all that yee bee enclined to quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame and glozie. Foz leauing to speake of the Illirians, & Triballes, of Boetia, Thzacia, and Sparta, of the Acheians, and Peliponesians. whome I haue subdued, part in person, and the reste by appointment: I will not

make rehersall of the warre we began at Helespont, & how we deliuered from the intollerable seruitude of ỹ barbarian nations Ionas, & Aeolides, & got vnto our possession both Caria, Lidea, Capadocia, Phrigia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia, Pisides, Cilicia, Siria, Phenices, Armenia, Perse, Mede, & Parthenia. We haue got ten moze countries then other haue taken cities, & yet I am sure the multitude hath caused me to leaue some of them vnrehearsed. If I could thinke that the possessiō of these lands that we haue conquered in so shozt time could remaine sure vnto vs: then (my souldiers) I would, though it were against your willes, breake from you to visite my house & my home, to see my mother, my sisters, and my cuntrey men, to enioy there the laud & glozie that I haue gotten with you, whereas the ioyfull conuersation of our wiues, our childzen and parents, peace, quietnes, and a sure possession of things gotten through our valiantnes do tary foz vs, as large rewardes of our victozy. But if we will confesse the truth, this newe Empire which we haue not yet at cōmaundement, but is kept as it were by way of entreatie doth require a time, that this stiffe necked people may learne to beare our yoke, and by framing their dispositions to a moze humanitie, bring their cruel nature to a moze ciuill conuersation. Doe we not see that the cozne in the field asketh a time foz his ryping, & though the same be without sence, yet hath it his course to be brought to perfection. Do you beleeue that so manye Nations not agreeing with vs in Religion, in custom noz in vse of tongue, accustomed to the Empire and name of an other man, will bee conquered and brought to subiection with the winning of one battayle? No, trust me, they be kept vnder with the feare of our power, and do not obeye vs of their owne good wylles. And they which shewe you obedience when ye bee heere amongest them, when you bee absent will bee your enemies. You must thinke that you haue to do with wyld beastes, which being fierce of nature when they be first taken, must bee shutte vp, and tamed with tyme. Hitherto I haue reasoned with you as though we had conquered the whole Dominion that perteyned to Darius, which is nothing so.

For

For Nabarzanes possesseth Hircania, and the traytour Bessus not onely enioyeth Bactria, but also threateneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahans, Massagetes, Sagans. and the Indians, remayne yet in their owne lybertie and iurisdiction, which shall not see our backes so sone tourned, but they wyll followe vs in the tails. They all haue a certeyne frendshippe and amitie one wyth another: but wee bee all straungers and forreyners vnto them. There is no creature, but that wyll more gladly bee obedient to Rulers of his owne Nation, then to forreyners, bee their gouernment neuer so terryble. Wee are driuen of necessitie therfore to winne that wee haue not, or els to lose that wee haue alreadie gotten. As Phisitions in sicke bodyes will leaue no humour that may hurte: so lykewise we must cutte away whatsoeuer shall bee impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not seen great fires risen of smal sparks not regarded? Wee maye not neglect any thing in our enemies: whom the more wee despise, the more strong wee make them. And because you shall not thinke yt such an impossibility for Bessus to make himself king, where vs a kyng wanteth, you shall vnderstand that Darius came not to his Empire by inheritaunce, but got into the seate of Cirus, by the benefite of Bagoas hys Eunuch. Wee commit an heynous offence (my Souldyers) if wee make warre agaynst Darius, and put hym downe, for the intente to giue his kyngdome vnto hys seruaunt, yea, and to such a one as attempted so vyle an acte agaynst hys maister, at suche a tyme as hee had moste nede of helpe, and whome we beeing his enemyes woulde haue spared: hee beeyng his subiect, put hym in cheynes as a captiue, and finally slewe hym because hee shoulde not bee preserued by vs. Shall you suffer this kynde of manne to reigne? No let vs make all the speed we may to see him crucified, and so to shewe to all kinges and Nations a Iustice done vppon one, that so vildly falsifyed his faith. If the reporte shoulde come vnto you beeing in your owne Countreyes, that the same man were destroying of the Greeke Cittie about Hellespont: O GOD howe sorie would you bee then, and howe much would you lamente that Bessus shoulde enioye that you

haue gotten, and vsurpe the rewardes of your victory? Then would you make haste to recouer your owne, the would you bend your selues to the warres. But howe much better is it nowe to oppresse him whilest he remaineth in such feare, and is vncerteine which way to take? Shall we spare to spend foure daies iourney to come to him, that haue ouertroden such snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue climbed so many mountaines? to whose iourney the flowing sea could bee no impediment, nor the streight of Cilicia could shut vp our way? Nowe all thinges are made playne and open, and wee stande in the entry of our victorie. There bee but a fewe fugitiues & killers of their maisters that do remaine. What more notable worke can you leaue vnto your posteritie, to bee registred by fame vnto your glorie, then to reuenge such as were traytours to Darius? You shall thereby shew that when you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked man could escape your handes. Which thing if you bring to passe, howe much more obedient do you thing the Persians shal be vnto you, when they perceyue you to take iust warres in hand, & that it was not Bessus name wherewith ye were offended: but with his faults and euil doings.

His Oration was receiued of the Souldiers with such gladnes, that they streight way desired him to cary them whither he would. And he that could vse the occasion of their good mood, passed through Parthenia, and came to ỹ boũds of Hircania, leauing Craterus with the bande, whereof he had the rule, & fiue thousand horsemen, of whome Amintas had the charge, with the like number of Archers, to defende Parthenia from the incursion of the barbarous natiõs. He appointed Erigonus a small power to attende vppon his cariages: willing him to passe with them through the plaine countrey, and he him-

himselfe with his footmen, and with the reste of his horsemen, marched forwardes, a hundred & fiftie furlonges, and encamped in a valley at the entry of Hircania. In the same place bee great woddes full of high and thicke trées, & the bottome of the valley is very fruitfull, by reason of the springs that come forth of the rockes. Out of the foote of the mountaines there riseth a Riuer called Zioberis, which within iij. furlonges of the heade, is deuided by a rocke, standing in the middest of the streame, causing the water to go two sundry wayes: Which afterwardes comming againe into one chanell, runneth more violently then before, by reason of ỹ fall from the rockes. And sodeinly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of thrée hundred furlonges, and then commeth forth againe, as it were out of a new spring, being then in bredth thirteene furlonges, and as it runneth forwards, draweth more narrowe, and falleth into an other streame, named Rhydago. The inhabitors of the countrey affirmed that al thinges caste in where the streame sunke into the ground, would appéere and come out again at the next issue. For the prouing of which conclusion, Alexander caused two Bulles to be cast in, where the water entered, whose bodies were founde by such as were appointed for the purpose, where the streame brake out againe. In this place he refreshed his army foure daies: during which time Nabarzanes (which was confederate

conteoerate with Bessus in killing of the king) did write letters to him in effect,

How that he was no enemy vnto Darius, but counsailed him euer to do such thinges as he iudged moste profitable: and for his faithfull counsaile was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about against all reason to commit the custody of his person to straungers, condemning thereby the fidelitie of his owne nation, which they had kepte vnspotted towardes their kinges the space of CCxxx. yeeres: Therefore seeing himselfe in that perill and daunger, hee tooke counsaile of his present necessitie. And alledged that it was alwayes admitted lawfull for a manne to kill such a one whome he knewe to conspire his death, which was an excuse (he said) wherewith Darius satisfyed the people, whē he had slain Bagoas. He alleged that nothing was more deere to mortall creatures then life, for the loue whereof he was driuen to this extremitie, in committing an acte which necessitie rather compelled him to do, then his owne disposition. For in a general calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If hee woulde commaund him to come to his presence, hee sayde, hee would not refuse to do it: for he could not feare that so great a king would violate his promise, seeing one God is not wont to deceiue another. But if he should seeme vnworthie to whome hee would giue his assuraunce, there were many countreyes for him to flie vnto. For all men hauing vertue in them, count alwaies that for their countrey, where they make their dwelling place.

Alexander made no stay to giue him his faith after such sorte as the Persians vsed to receiue promise: which was, safely to come and go. Notwithstanding hee marched in order of battaile, sending euer scouts before to discouer ỹ ground. The light armed were appoynted for the vangard: the Phalanx followed after, and the baggage behinde. For by reason the same was a

war-

warlike nation, and the countrey hard to enter vpon: it caused the king to loke earnestly vpon the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the Caspian sea, the bankes thereof resembling the hornes of the Mone before it commeth to ỹ full, the Sea lying betwixt them like a greate Bay. Vppon the lefte hande the people inhabite that be called Cercetes, which lie open towards the North, and vpon the other part the Leucosirians, Mossynes, & Chalibes, & the plains of the Amazons lye towardes the West. This Sea which some call the Caspian, and some the Hircanian sea, beeing more sweete then any other, bringeth forth Serpentes of a wonderfull bignes, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be diuers of opinion that ỹ lake of Meotis should run into this sea, which they coniecture of the water, thinking the same to receiue his sweetenes of the lake. Towardes the North the Sea groweth into a flatte shore, and putteth forth his waters farre vppon the land, which rising high make many meares and plashes. And as by certeine course of the Planets they flowe out, so at a certeine time by an ebbe, they retourne in againe, restoring the grounde to his former estate. Some beleeue those waters to bee no parcell of the Caspian Sea, but ỹ they come out of India, and runne into Hircania, which lyeth lowe in the foresaide valley. The king being remoued from that place, marched forwardes twentie furlonges in a wilde deserte

way

way, where great woodes hong continually ouer their heades, and brookes of water and mire gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without any impediment of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey: wherein besides other victuals (whereof it did abounde) grewe great plentie of apples, and the ground was very apte for vynes. There were also plenty of a certeine kind of trees much like vnto okes, whose leaues were couered with hony, which the inhabitors gather before the sunne rising: for els the moysture would be dryed vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed xxx. furlonges more forwardes, Phrataphernes met him, yéelding both himselfe, and such other as fledde after Darius death, whom he receiued gently, and came to a Towne called Aricas. Thither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringing with them Phradates that had the rule of ỹ Tapurians: whose frendly receiuing and gentle enterteinment was the cause that many followed his example, in committing themselues to Alexanders mercie. Menape was there made Prince of Hircania: who béeing a banished man in the time of Oechus, came to king Philip for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office hee had before. When Alexander was come to the vttermost boundes of Hircania: Artabasus whom we declared to shewe himselfe alway to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and chil-

dren,

dren, and with a smal band of Grécke souldiers. The king at his comming proffered him hys hande, because he had béene enterteined before by king Philip, when he was banished by Dechus: but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the continuall fidelitie that hée observed towardes his Prince. He béeing thus gently receiued by Alexander, said vnto him:

Sir, long may you florish & reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioice in all other thinges, with one am chiefly grœued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shal not be able long to enioy your goodnes. He was fourescore and fiue yeres of age, and brought with him nine sonnes borne of one mother, whome he presented before the king, praying God to continue their liues so long as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him.

Alexander was accustomed much to walke on foote, but then least the olde man might be ashamed to ryde, he going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped, hée sente for the Grékes that Artabasus brought. But they made request first that he would giue assurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongst them, or els they would take aduise amongst themselues what were best to do: The same were the Embassadors that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius: which after the battell, ioyned themselues to the Grékes that were in Darius wages. The king willed them to leaue all assurances and compositions, & come to receiue such appointment as he would giue them. They stood long in a stay, varying in opi-

nions:

nions: but at length they agréed so to doe: Sauing Democrates of Athens, which chiefly had euer oppugned the succesſe of the Macedons, who dispeiring of pardon slewe himselfe. But the other, as they had determined, submitted themselues to Alexanders will, being r.M.v.C. in number, besides foureſcore and ten of such as were sente Embassadors vnto Darius. The more parte of the Souldiers were distributed amongst the bandes to fill vp the numbers that wanted, and the reſt were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to bee put in prison. There was a nation called Mardons, bounding nert to Hircania, rude in their manners and vsages, accustomed to lyue by theft: They neither sent Embassadors, nor gaue anie signification that they would be at Alexanders commaundement: hee toke thereat great indignation that any one people ſhould giue impediment to his victorie, and therefore leauing a guarde for his cariages, went againſt them w̄ a ſtrong power. He marched forwardes in the night, and by the time that the day appéred, his enemies were in ſighte. But the matter came rather to alarme then to any fight. For the enemies were some driuen from the hilles, who flying away, left their villages to bee sacked by the Macedons. But the armye could not passe into the inward partes of the contrey without great trouble and veration, the same beeing compassed about with hygh mountaines, greate

woods

woods aud deserte rockes, and the partes which were plaine were defended with a strange kind of fortification, ỳ is to say with trées set thicke of purpose, the boughes whereof when they were yong, were wreathed one within another: The toppes bowed downe were put into the ground again, from whence as out of another rot there spring newe braunches. They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knitte them so one with an other, that when they were ful of leaues, they couered cleane the earth. The trées thus wreathed one with another, enclosed in the cuntrey as it were with a continual hedge, & were as snares to entangle such as would go about to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe through ỳ same, but onely by cutting downe of the wood. And therein they found a great difficultie, and much trauaile, by reason that the wreathing and wrapping together of the boughes kepte them off from the bodyes of the trées, and the weakenes of the boughes so yélded to ỳ strokes that they coulde not easily bee cutte a sonder: The inhabiters of the cuntrey were accustomed to créepe amongst the brush like wilde beastes, and by priuie salies breake out vppon their enemies. Alexander therefore caused his menne after the maner of hunters to séek out their lurking places, and killed manye of them. But at length he enuironed the wode with his Souldyers rounde about, to the intente they might

breake

breake in at euery place, where they should spye any entry. In doing whereof, many wandred & lost their company in places that they knewe not, and were taken prisoners: and amongst them Bucephalus Alexanders horse, whome he did not esteeme as men do other beastes: for he would not suffer any other man to leape vppon him: and when the king would ride he woulde kneele downe vpon his knees to receiee him, so that he seemed to haue the sence to vnderstande whome he caried. Alexander was more sorrowfull, and stirred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause for searching about to get the horse againe, hee caused proclamation to be made by an interpretor, that except he were restored, he would not leaue one of the countrey men aliue. Whē they heard this terrible threatening, amongst other giftes they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but cōmanded the woodes to be cut downe, and the waies to be made plain which he cut through ẏ woods. This worke went so well forward, that the inhabiters dispeiring of abilitie to defend the cuntrey, yelded themselues to the king. Who receiuing their pledges, committed them to the keeping of Phradates, and from thence the fifth day retourned againe to his campe. There hee gaue to Artabasus the double honour that Darius did vnto him, and sent him home againe in to his countrey. After that he came to the Citie

of

of Hircania, where Darius Palaice was, Mabarzane vpon assurance came thither, bringing with him great gifts, and amongst the rest presented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuch of singuler beautie, being in the first flower of his age whom Darius accustomed, & after Alexander: at whose intercession specially he did pardon Mabarzanes. The nation of the Amazons, béing néere vnto Hircania (as hath béene saide before) did inhabite the playnes of Themyscire about the Riuer of Thermodoonta, and had a Quéene reigning ouer them called Thalestris, which kepte vnder her dominion all the countreys betwéene the mount Caucasus, & the Ryuer of Phasis. She for the great affection shes had to sée Alexander, trauailed out of her owne countrey, and béing come néere where he was, sent certeine before that a Quéene was come of desire to visite him, and to make her acquaintaunce. When libertie was giuen her to come to his presence, she caused al the rest of her band to staye, and she came forwardes accompanyed with thrée hundred women. Assone as she perceiued Alexander, she leaped from her horse, carying two Launces in her hande.

The Amazons apparell is such, that it doth not couer all their bodyes: for their brestes bée bare on the left side, and their garments which they vse to knit vp with a knotte, come not to their knées. One brest they alwaies reserue vntouched wherewith they nourish their women

children, but their right brests they vse to seare, to make them more apt to drawe their bowes, and cast their dartes. Thalestris loked vpon Alexander with a bolde countenance, and considering in beholding of him, that his personage answered not to the fame that she had heard of his acts. For the barbarous nations gaue great veneration to the maiestie of the personage, thinking none to bee sufficient for the doing of great acts, but such as nature hath endued with great personages. It was demaunded of her if she had any request to make vnto Alexander: Whereat she was not abashed to confesse that she was come thither to get children with him: thinking her selfe a personage worthy of whom he should get heires to inherite his kingdome, wherein shee couenanted that if it were a Woman she would kéepe it still, & if it were a man childe, she would restore it to the Father. Alexander enquired of her if she would go forwards with him in his warres: but therein she excused her selfe, that she had left no order for the defence of her kingdome. But she continued stil in declaration of the cause of her comming, and required that her hope therein might not be in vaine. The womans appetite seemed to be more vehemently giuen to lust then the kinges was: yet she obteined of him to stay for her cause, and consumed thirteene daies in satisfying of her desyre. That done she departed to her owne kingdome, & Alexander went to Parthenia, which

was

was the place where he first shewed manifestly the vyces that were in him. There he turned his continencie and moderation, beeing the moste excellent vertues appéring in anie kinds of estate, into pryde and voluptuousnes, not estéming his countrey customes, nor the wholesome temperaunce that was in the vsages and discipline of the kinges of Macedon. For hes iudged their ciuyle vsage and manner to bée ouer base for his greatnes: but did counterfeyte the height and pompe of the kinges of Persia, representing the greatnes of the Gods. He was content to suffer men there to fall downe flatte vpon the ground, and woorship hym, and accustomed the victorours of so manye Nations, by little and little to seruyle offices, coueting to make them lyke vnto his captiues. He ware vpon his heade a Diademe of purple, interpaled with white, like as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned his apparell after the manner of the Persians, without scrupulositie of anye euill token that it signified for the victorour to change his habit into the fashion of him whom he had vanquished. And though he had vaũted yt hee ware the spoyles of his enemies: yet wyth those spoyles he put vppon him their euill maners: and the insolencie of the mynde, folowed the pride of the apparaile. Besides hee sealed such letters as hee sente into Europe with hys accustomed seale: but all the letters he sente abroad into Asia, were sealed with Darius King,

So it appéered that one minde could not beare y greatnes that apperteined to two. Ye apparailed also his frends, his Capitaines, and his horsemen in Persian apparell, whereat though they grudged in their mindes, yet they durst not refuse it for feare of his displeasure. His Courte was replenished with Concubines: for he styll mainteined thrée hundred and three-score that belonged to Darius, and amongst them were flockes of Eunuches accustomed to performe the vse of women. The olde souldiers of Philip naturally abhorring such thinges, manifestly withstoode to be infected with such voluptuousnes, and straunge customes. Whereupon there arose a generall talke and opinion throughout the campe, how that they had lost more by the victorie, then they had wonne by the warre. For when they sawe themselues ouercome in suche excesse: and forreyne customes so to preuayle amongst them, they iudged it a slender reward of their long béeing abroad, to retourne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their king, that was then more like to such as were subdued, then to them that were victorious: and that of a king of Macedon was become a Prince of Persia, and one of Darius Courtiers. When he vnderstoode that the chiefe of his frendes and his men of warre were gréeuously offended with his dwings, he went about to recouer fauour againe with giftes and liberalitie: but it is to be thought that the rewards

of

of seruitude be vngratefull to frée menne. And therfore least this matter might turne into a sedition, he thought good to breake the imaginations encreased by idlenesse with the exercise of warre, whereof an apte occasion was giuen. For Bessus inuesting himselfe as a king, tooke vpon him the name of Artaxerxes, drawing to his part the Scithians and other that were the inhabiters of the Riuer of Thanais: whiche thinges were reported to him by Nabarzanes, whome he had receiued into his fauour, and giuen the rule of the countrey that he had before. When he had determined this new expedition, he found his army so ouercharged & laden with spoile and other furnitures of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarcely moue. Wherefore hee commaunded the baggage and stuffe of the whole army to be brought togither in one place excepting onely such thinges as were verye necessarie. The place was large, and plaine whyther the cartes were brought to bee laden: and when euery one stode wayting & musing what he would commaund them to do, he caused the beastes to be remoued first out of the way, and then set his owne fardels on fire, and after all ỹ rest. Whilest these thinges were burning, the owners were on fire to see those thinges consumed, for the sauing whereof they had oft quenched the flames in Cities of their enemies. Yet no man durst lament the price of his own bloud seeing they saw the fire consume the kinges ry-

thes as well as their owne: and ỹ rather to pacifie them, the king did mittigate their dolour with a briefe Oration. Whereupon they that were euer apte for the warres, and ready to do all thinges, beganne to be ioyfull that wyth the losse of their baggage, they had preserued their discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwardes towardes Bactria, Nicanor the Sonne of Parmenio dyed sodeinely, whome euery man greatly lamented: but chiefly the king was sorrowfull, desiring to haue staied for the celebration of his buriall, but that wante of victuals caused him to hast forwards. Philotas therefore was lefte behinde, with ỹ. thousande and six hundred souldiers to performe the ceremonies apperteining to his brothers buriall, and he himselfe marched towards Bessus. In the waye letters were brought to Alexander from the princes thereabout, that Bessus was comming towardes him with a great army, adding thereunto, that Satribarzanes whō he had made Prince of ỹ Arians, was newly rebelled. For that cause (notwithstanding he was cōme neere vnto Bessus) he thought it best first to oppresse Satribarzanes: and for that intente brought forwardes his horsemen and footemen, that were light armed, to inuade him sodeinely. His comming was not so priuye, but Satribarzanes knewe thereof, and fledde into Bactria, with two thousand horsemen. For by reason he was not able to assemble anye more in so shorte

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a time, the reste toke the nexte mountaines for their refuge. There was a rock which towards the west was high and steepe, but towardes the East more lowe and easie to be climbed vppon, which parte was full of trées. The same rocke being in compasse xxxij. furlongs, had a fountain running continually, and in the toppe a grécne plaine, where they placed the weaker multitude but the rest that were apt for defence, béeing to the number of thirteene thousande, gotte themselues to the edges of the rocke, and there threw downe logges and stones vppon the Macedons that came to assaile them. He left Craterus to besiege this rocke, and went in person to pursue Satribarzanes. And because he vnderstood that he was fledde farre off, retourned backe againe to the siege of them that were vppon the rocke. First he caused all thinges to bee taken away, that might be any impediment to his men in ỹ assault giuing. But when they came to ỹ bare and steepe rocke, the labour seemed wast, where nature wrought agaynst them. But hee that was of a disposition alwayes to striue agaynst difficulties, considering howe harde a matter it was to goe forwardes, and howe daungerous to retourne backe againe, did caste in his heade all the wayes and deuyses that could be imagined, and nowe fantasyed one thing, and then an other, as men bee wont when that ỹ wayes they haue founde out first doe not please them. As hee stoode in a staye doubting what to doe, for-

tune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reason could inuent. It chaunced that the wind blew sore at the south-west, what time ỹ souldiers had felled great plentie of wood wherof they thought to make scaffolds to moũt vp against the Rocke, and the heate of the sunne had made the same drye. When Alexander perceiued the wind to blow after that sort, and the wood lying in that place, he conceiued by and by his purpose, & willed more trées to be cut downe, and laide vpon them, putting all other thinges to it, that were apte to kindle and nourish fire: So that trées heaped vppon trées, became as it were a mountaine, so high as the toppe of the Rocke. The same béeing set on fire in all partes at once, the winde caried the flame into the face of their enemies, and the smoke couered ouer ỹ skie. The noise was then great ỹ the fire made, which burned not onely the trées that were fired of purpose, but also the reste of the wood growing nére thereabout. The enemies were so tormented with the flame and heate of the fire, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength, and attempted to escape away where the fire gaue them least impediment. But wher the fire gaue place, the Macedons stood in readines to receiue them, so that they were consumed and slaine diuers kindes of waies. Some threwe themselues downe the rockes, some ran into the middest of the fire: other fell into their enemies handes: and a fewe halfe consumed

with

with fyre, were taken prisoners. When Alexander had done this acte, he returned to Craterus which besieged Artacnan, who hauing prepared all thinges in readinesse, taryed onely for the kinges comming, to giue him the honour of the winning of the Citie. When Alexander was come, he approched the walles, with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at the sight wherof the inhabitants were so afraid that they held vp their handes from the walles requyring him to spare them, and execute hys wrath vppon Satribarzanes, that was the author of their Rebellion. Alexander pardoned thē frely, and not onely leuyed his siege, but also restored to the inhabitantes all thinges that perteined to them. As he remoued from this Citie, there came vnto him a newe supply of Souldiers. Zoylous brought out of Grece fiue hundred horsemen, and three thousand which Antipater sent out of Illiria. There came a hundred and thirtie Thessalian horsemen with Philip, who also brought of Souldiers straungers out of Lidia, two thousand fiue hundred fotemen, & three hundred horsemen. Alexander hauing thus encreased his power, entered into the countrey of the Dragans, which were a warlyke nation, & vnder the gouernement of Nabarzanes, who being of counsell with Bessus in the treason ỹ he commited against his prince, when he heard of Alexanders comming, for feare of the punishment he had deserued, fledde into India. Thus

had

had they lyen in campe nine dayes, when Alexander being without feare of any enemy, & inuincible against al forrein powers, was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chaũced that one Dimmus a man of meane behauiour and authoritie with his prince, was greatly enflamed in the loue of a young man called Nichomachus, with whome he vsed much familiar conuersation. This Dimmus on a tyme beeing in a passion, (as it well appeered by hys countenance) allured this yong man into a temple: where remaining alone togither, declared that he had certeine secrets to shew him, which in no wise were to be reported againe. Therby he brought Nichomachus in great suspection, what ỹ matter should be: For before he would tell him, he made a protestation by the loue and familiaritie betwixt them, that he would assure him by his oth to kæpe the thing secrete: who supposing the matter to be of no such weight, ỹ he ought with periurie and breaking of his oth to disclose the same againe, sware by the Gods there present. Then Dimmus opened vnto hym how there was a treason conspired against the king, which within thrée daies should bee put in execution, whereof (he said) he himselfe was privy with diuers men of nobilitie and estimation. When Nichomachus did heare it to bee such a matter, constantly denied then that his promise extended to conceale Treason, where-unto no oth nor Religion could bynde a manne. When

Dimmus

Dimmus heard him say so, he became in a rage betwixt loue and feare, and clasped the young man by the hande, requyring him with weeping eies, that he would not sticke to bee a partaker in the execution of this conspiracie, or at ỹ least if his heart would not serue him, that he would keepe his counsaile secrete, in respect that he had found such proofe of loue in him, to commit hys life into his handes without any further proofe of his fidelitie. But in conclusion, when he perceiued that Nichomachus woulde in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, he vsed diuers meanes to bring him to hys intente, one while intreating him with fayre wordes, and another while threatening to kyll him. He called him coward and traytour to hys freend, commending the goodlines of the enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, in that they should be partner of the kingdome they went about to get. When hee had proued all these waies, and yet found him strange, he thrust his sword one while to Nichomachus throte, and another while to his owne, so that at length by threatning & fair speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keepe his counsell secret, and also to be assistaunt to the deede doing. Yet neuertheless as one of a constant mind (though for the tyme presente hee seemed to bee wonne wyth the loue of his freend, and become agreeable to his requestes) chaunged no parte of hys former purpose. This being don, Nichomachus

requi-

required to know what the men were, that had confederated them-selues in so weighty a matter, because the persons (hee saide) were much materiall that shoulde take so great an enterprise in hande. Then Dimnus (though he were in great trouble of minde that he had brought ỹ matter so far forth) yet when he heard him aske the question, he reioiced, and thanked him greatly, that he would so frēely associate himself with such maner of men, as Demetrius of the priuy chamber was, Peculaus, Nicanor, Aphebetus, Loceus, Diocenus, Archepolis and Amintas. This cōmunication once ended betwirt them, Nichomacus departed, and disclosed al the matter which he had heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agrēeing betwirt them two, that Nichomachus should remaine secret in his tent, least by his comming to the kings lodging, not vsing to haue accesse vnto the king, the conspirators might perceiue themselues bewrayed. Ceballinus repayred to the kinges lodging, and taryed before the gate, wayting for some manneere about the king, to bring him to his presence. It fortuned that amongst many which passed by, onely Philotas the sonne of Parmenio, demaunded why he wayted there. To whō Ceballinus with a bashed countenaunce (well declaring the vnquietnes of his minde) reported all those thinges which he had heard of his brother, requyring him that hee would declare the same immediately to the king. Philotas depar-

ted

ted from him vnto the king, with whome that day he had much cõmunication of other things, & yet opened no part of the same matter which was tolde him by Ceballinus. At night as Philotas came forth, Ceballinus met him at the Court gate, and enquired whether he had done his message to the king or not. Hee excused the matter that he could finde him at no leysure. The next day Ceballinus met him agayne, going to the king, and put him in remembrance of that he had tolde him before, to whome he aunswered that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he disclosed no parte of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspecte him, and intended no longer to deferre the thing, but opened the same to one Metron Maister of the kinges armary: who immediately conueyed Ceballinus into the armary, and wente streight to the king which was bathing, and enformed him of all that he had heard. Alexander then made no delay, but sente certeine of his guarde to take Dimmus, and after came himselfe into the armary. Assone as Ceballinus sawe the king, hee ranne to him with great reioicing, and said, loe I haue preserued thée from the handes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all ỳ circumstance, and he againe aunswered to euerie point in order. The king was earnest to know how long it was since Nichomachus had giuen him this information, and he confessed ỳ it was three dayes. Whereupon the king consi-

dering

dering that he could not with truth haue concealed this matter so long, commanded that he should be put in warde. Then cried he out, and declared how y. at the same instant he knew of the conspiracie first, he opened it to Philotas, of whome (he saide) he might enquire the truth. Thereupon it was demaunded of him, whether he had required Philotas to bee brought to the kinges presence or no. Which thing when the king by his confession perceiued to be true, and that he did stifly abide by his first tale, he lyfted vp his hands to heauen, the teares falling from his eyes, greatly complaining that Phylotas should requite him with such vntruth, whom he most assuredly trusted. Dimmus in the meanes season knowing for what cause he was sent for, wounded himselfe to death: but yet somewhat letted by them that were sent to take him, was brought before the king, whom assone as he beheld, he saide vnto him:

Dimmus, what haue I offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke Philotas more worthy to be king of Macedon then I?

At which wordes Dimmus became speechlesse, and casting forth a great sigh, tourned his face from the kings sight, & fell down dead. The king called Philotas before him, and said.

This man whom thou here-lœest, should haue suffered death if it could haue bœn proued that he had concealed two daies the treason prepensed against mee. With the which matter he chargeth thee Philotas: to whom (as he saith) he gaue knowledge immediately, y more nœre thou art about me, so much greater is thy offence:

and

and the fault had bene more tollerable in him then in thee. How be it thou hast a fauorable iudge: for if there bee any thing that cannot be excused, yet at the least it may be pardoned.

To this Philotas nothing abashed (if the heart may be iudged by the countenance) made aunswere, that Ceballinus brought him a tale, the reporter whereof was ouer light of credit to be beleeued, and that he feared least by the presenting of such a matter which did rise vppon brabling betwixt two persons of euill disposition, he might haue bene laughed to scorne: but afterwardes when he once knewe that Dimmus had slaine himselfe, hee was clearely then resolued no longer to haue prolonged the thing. And so falling downe before the king, besought him that hee would rather haue respecte to hys life paste, then to his faulte, which was onely a concealement, and no acte done. It is harde to say, whether the king beleeued him, or grounded his displeasure more deepely in his heart: neuertheless in token of pardon, hee gaue him hys hande, saying how it appeered that the accusation was rather miscredited by him, then concealed of malice. Notwithstanding hee called hys counsayle togither, amongst whome Philotas was not admytted, but Nichomachus was brought in before them, where hee declared all such matters as he before had shewed to ỹ king. There was one Craterus in speciall fauour with Alexander, which for the enuy he had to Philotas aduancemẽt bare him alwais grudge:

Who

Who knew very well that the king had often beene displeased with Philotas, for ỹ ouer much aduauncing of his good seruice an dvaliant acts: but yet for all that in those matters he was not suspected of treason, but onely noted of presumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that hee could not haue a better occasion to oppresse his enemy, then by colouring his priuate hatred w̃ a pretended duetie towardes his Prince.

Would God (quoth he) ye had taken our coũsaile in the beginning of this matter: for if yee would needes haue pardoned him, yee shoulde haue kepte from hys knowledge how much he was in your daunger, rather then to haue brought him in feare of his life: whereby yee shall make him more mindful of his own peril, then of your goodnes. For hee may alwaies imagine your death: but you shall not bee alwaies in case to pardon him. Let it neuer sinke in your hart, that he which purposed so heynous a treson would chaunge his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon. You knowe well that such as offende are often in dispeire of mercie. And though hee perchaunce either with repentaunce of his fault, or remembrance of your goodnes would chaunge his minde, yet I am sure that his Father Parmenio, generall capitaine of so great an army, and of so groũded authoritie amongst your souldiers (that is with them in maner as your selfe) would bee content to bee in your debt for his sonnes life. There bee certeine benefites hatefull to men: and it is shame to confesse to haue deserued death. Therefore I conclude, that hee had rather it shoulde bee thought you had doone him wrong, then that he had giuen him his life. I cannot see therefore, but you shall bee enforced to destroy them for their owne suretie. There be enemies inough remaining yet vnconquered, against whom we be going: make your selfe sure from your foes at home, so shall yee haue lesse neede to feare your enemies abroad.

These were Craterus words, and the residue

of

of the counsaile were of opinion, that Philotas would neuer haue concealed this conspiracie, except hee had bæne either principall or priuye thereunto. For they thought there was no true man, or of honest hart, though he had bæn none of the kinges familiars, but one of his meane seruantes, hearing so much as Philotas heard, but would forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he beeing the sonne of Parmenio, the mayster of the kinges horse, and of his priuye counsaile, did not so much as the straunger, which streightwaies made relation of that his brother had tolde him. And whereas he pretended that the king was at no leysure, that they iudged to be done, to the intent the accuser should not seek any other to whom he might vtter it. Whereas Nichomachus, albeit he was bounde by his oth to the contrarie, yet would he neuer rest till hee had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he consumed in maner the whole day in sport and pastime with the king, could not finde in his hart to cast forth a fewe words, speciallie in a matter so much concerning the kings saue garde. But admit (quoth they) he had giuen no credite to the matter, through the lightnes of ỹ reporter, why should he haue deferred the accuser two daies, as though he had beléeued it? For if he had misliked the tale, he might haue dismissed the partie. It was also alledged that euery mans minde much misgiueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne ieoperdie. Much

more ought men to be credulous when it touched the safetie of a kings person, in which case it ought to be examined, though it be of small weight. They all therefore determined that Philotas should be enforced to disclose the partners of the conspiracie. The king commanding them to keepe the matter secret departed, and to the intent no inckling should appeare of this newe counsaile: he caused it to be proclaimed y the army should set forwards the next day. The same night the king called Philotas to a banquet, with whom he vouchsafed not only to eat, but also familiarly to cõmune, notwithstanding hee had before in the counsaile determined hys death. After in the second watch of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, & Erigonus, which were of the kinges counsayle, came priuily into the Court without anye lighte, and of the Esquires there came Perdicas and Leonatus, by whom commandement was giuen that al such as lay neere the kinges lodging should watch in harnisse. By this time souldiers were appointed to all the passages, and horsemen were sent to keepe the wayes, that no man should passe priuily to Parmenio, which then was gouernour of Medea with a great power. Then Attaras came into the court with ccc. armed men, vnto whom there was appointed x. of those that had the charge of the kinges person, euery one of thẽ accompanied with ten esquires, which were sorted into diuers companies to take the other conspira

ſpiratours. But Attaras with his cet. was ſente to Philotas lodging, wherewith fiftie of ỹ hardieſt brake vp his chamber doore that was ſhut againſt them. The reſidue were commaunded to beſet the houſe, leaſt he might eſcape by ſome ſecret way. Philotas whether it were through the ſuretie of his owne conſcience, or through wearines of ſuch trauaile of minde, was in ſo profound and dead a ſléepe, that Attaras brake in vpon him before he wiſt. But at length when hee was awaked and come to hymſelfe, perceiuing them about to binde him, he exclaimed and ſaide: O Alexander, the malice of mine enemies haue preuailed aboue thy mercie. Speaking theſe woordes, they couered his face, and brought him into the Court. The nert day the king gaue cõmaundement that certeine of the men of warre ſhould aſſemble in harneſſe to the number of ſix thouſand beſides ſlaues & raſcals that filled full the Court, which being aſſembled togither, the garde compaſſed in Philotas with their band, to the intent he ſhould not be eſpied of the people, vntill ſuch time as the king might ſpeake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons the kinges in their owne perſons were wont to enquire in matters of treaſõ: yet could not the kinges authoritie preuaile to condemnation, except it were confirmed by the conſent of the men of warre. Therefore the body of Dimmus was firſt brought into the place, the moſt part vnknowing what he had done, or by

what chaunce he was slaine. Then came the king forth to speake vnto the multitude, which in his countenaunce declared the dolour of hys heart: and the sadnesse of such as were nére about him, caused vnto the rest great expectation of the matter. He did cast his eyes towards the earth, and stode long astonyed & in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirits, & spake vnto them in this wise.

By the treason of some menne I was almost taken from you: but through the mercie and prouidence of the Gods I am yet preserued. Your honourable presence doth constraine mée more vehemently to be moued against those traytours, because the onely comfort and fruite of my life is, that I remayne to giue thanks to so many noble menne, to whom I am so much bounden.

With speaking of these words the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale, and the teares did fall from their eies. Then the king began againe his tale.

How much more will you bee mooued when I shall shewe you the authours of so horrible a treason, the rehearsall of whome I yet refraine, as one very loth to discouer their names. But I must ouercome the memory of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracie of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for mée to hyde so great a treason? Parmenio a man of that age, so deepely in my debt, through the most ample benefits both of me and my father, and whom I most estéemed of all my frendes is the capitaine and contriuer of all this mischiefe. His minister Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, & this Dimmus (whose bodie heere you see) with other partners of their fury to my destruction.

When hee came to that point, there arose throughout the multitude a great charme of a mur-

murmure and complaint, such as is wont to be amongst a number, and specially of menne of warre, when they are moued either with affection, or displeasure. With that Nichomachus, Metron, and Ceballinus were brought forth, euery one of them giuing in euidence that they had spoken before, yet appeered it not by anie mans tale that Philotas was priuie to that conspiracie. But at the laste when the noyse was ceased, and the witnesses had said all they could, the king proceeded in this wise.

Of what maner of minde thinke you was this man, which hearing the whole report, could find in his hart to conceale the matter, the truth whereof is wel declared by the death of Dimmus. Ceballinus that reported an vncerteine tale, for the tryall therof was afraide of no tormentes, and neuer delaied the moment of time vntill he had discharged himselfe: in so much that hee brake into the place where I was bathing: but Philotas only feared nothing, he beleeued nothing. O how great a heart had this man, which hauing knowledge of the daunger of his king, did neuer chaunge countenaunce, neither take so much paine as to heare out the tale of the accuser? But in this silence and concealemēt there is treason hidden, and the greedie desire he had to reigne, did driue him headlong to attempt extreme mischiefe. His father is gouernour of Medea, and beareth such a stroke amongst the Capitaines and men of warr through mine authoritie, that hee hopeth for a great deale more then he hath. And because I am without children he esteemeth me not. But Philotas is deceyued. I haue children, frendes, and kinsfolke amongst you. So long as you bee in sauegarde, I shall not recken my selfe without heires.

Then did he recite a letter that was taken, which Parmenio had writtē to his sonnes, Nicanor, and Philotas, wherein there appeered no

great proofe of anye greater treason intended. The effecte was this: First take good heede to your selues, & then to those that belong to you, so shall we bring to passe that we haue purposed. Which letter the king enforced, saying: it was written after such a maner, that if it came to his sonnes handes, it might bee perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceeded he.

Now will Philotas perhaps say, that when Dimnus named all that were partakers of his conspiracy, he named not him. As for that it is no proofe of his innocencie, but a token of his power and authoritie, because he was spared of them: that might best bewraye him, which confessing of themselues, durst not speake of him. But what maner man he hath beene his lyfe doth shew. He was fellowe and companion to Amintas my kinsman, which conspired high treason against my person in Macedon. He gaue his sister in marriage to Attalus, then whome I had neuer greater enemie. When by reason of olde frendship and familiaritie I wrote to him of the title giuen to mee by the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon, he did not sticke to aunswere: that he was very glad that I was admitted into the number of Goddes, howbeit very sory for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the state of a man. These were plaine tokens that his hart was turned from me, & that he spited my glory. Which I kept close in my hart so long as I might. For I thought my bowels pulled from mee, if I should make a lyke store of them, for whom I had done so much. But now it is not their wordes that must bee punished: for the rashnes of their tonges is turned to swordes, which before me, Philotas hath whetted to my destruction. Whom if I should suffer to escape, alas my souldiers, whither should I go: to whom should I commit my person: He was the man that I made generall of my horsemen

horſemen, of the greateſt part of mine army, & of al the noble young Gentlemen. To his truth and fidelitie haue I committed my ſauegard, my truſt, and victory. His father did I preferre vnto the ſame eſtate wherevnto you aduaunced mee, Medea, then which there is not a richer countrey, with many thouſandes of your frends and fellows, I haue put vnder his gouernance and authoritie. Where I truſted of moſt ſuretie, there found I moſt perill. Howe much more happy had I beene to haue dyed in battaile, and rather beene ſlayne of myne enemies, then thus betrayed of my ſubiectes? For nowe beeing ſaued from the dangers that I moſt feared, I haue fallen into thoſe that I ought to haue doubted leaſt. You haue beene woonte oftentimes to warne me that I ſhould regarde my ſuretie. It is not that may make mee ſure of that which you counſel me. To your hands & to your ſuccour I flie. I would not liue though I might againſt your willes, and though you would, yet can I not, except I be deliuered from theſe my enemies.

Hereupon Philotas was brought forth in an olde garment, his hands bound behind his back. It wel appeered how much this miſerable ſight moued thē which late before enuyed him. The day before they ſawe him generall of the horſemen, they knew that he was at ſupper with the king, and ſodeinly they ſawe him both priſoner bound like a theefe, & alſo condemned to die. So it pitie their hartes to conſider, how Parmenio ſo noble a man, ſo great a capitaine, which late hauing loſt two of his ſonnes, Hector & Nicanor ſhould be put to anſwere abſent with the thirde ſon, whom euill fortune had left him. The multitude beeing thus enclined to pittie: Amintas one of the kinges officers, with a cruell tale ſet them all againſt the priſoner.

We bee all (quoth he) betraied to the barbarous nations: none of vs shall returne home to his countrey, wife, nor frendes, but as a maymed body without a head, without honour, without fame, in a strange countrey, shall be a mocking stocke to our enemies.

His tale was nothing pleasant to the king, because he put the souldiers in remembrance of their wiues and countrey, whereby he thought they would be the lesse willing to go forwardes in his warres. There was one Cenus, which though he had maryed the sister of Philotas, yet did he more extreemely enuye him then any other, calling him traytour against his king, to his countrey, and to the whole army. And thervpon toke vp a stone that by chaunce lay at his feete, to haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some thought) to the end he might rid him from racking. But the king kept backe his hand, and saide that the prisoner shoulde haue libertie to speake for himselfe, and would not suffer him to be condemned otherwise. Then Philotas being admitted to speake, were it through the conscience of his offence, or through the greatnes of his perill, as a man astonied, and besides himselfe, durst neither loke vp nor speake, burst out into teares. Whereupon his heart fainted, and he sowned downe vpon those that led him. But afterwardes when he had wiped his eyes, and by litle and litle recouered his hart and tongue, he made countenance to speake. Then the king beheldе him in the face, and saide: The Macedons shall be thy Judges. I would know there-

fore

fore whether thou wilt speake to them in thy countrey language, or not? To whome Philotas aunswered: There bee diuers nations here besides the Macedons, which (as I trust) shall perceiue my wordes the better, if I vse ỹ same language that you did, because the more might vnderstand your tale. Then said the king, marke howe this man hath his owne countrey tongue in hatred. For there is none but he that wil disdaine to speake it: but let him say what he wil, so long as you remember that he not onely disdaineth our countrey customes; but also our lãguage, and with that word the king departed from the assembly. Then said Philotas.

It is easie for an innocent to finde wordes to speake: but it is hard for a manne in miserie to kæpe a temperance in his tale. Thus standing betwixt a cleare conscience, and moste vnhappy fortune, I knowe not in what wise I shall satisfie my selfe, and the time both togither. For he that might best haue iudged my cause is gone: what the cause is that he will not heare mæ, I cannot well imagine, sith vppon the matter heard, it lyeth onely in his handes both to discharge and condemne me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquite mæ bæing absent, since hee condemned mæ when hee was hære præsent. But notwithstanding the defence of a prisoner is not onely superfluous, but also hatefull, which sæmeth not to enforce, but to reproue the iudge: yet will I not forsake my selfe, nor so doe, that I shall sæme condemned by mine owne default. I sæ not of what treason I should be guiltie. Among the conspirators no man named me. Nichomachus said nothing of mæ. Ceballinus could not tell more of mæ then hee heard. And yet doth the king belæue that I should be head of this conspiracy. Was it possible that Dimnus should forget to name him that was chiefe? or is it likely that he would haue ouerslipped me, when the names

of

of the conspirators were demaūded of him: he would rather haue named mee falsly to allure the young man the sooner to his opinion: yet when hee tolde the matter priuily to Nichomachus whom he beleeued verily would haue kept it secrete, naming himselfe and all the rest: of mee onely he made no mention, wherein it cannot be gathered that hee omitted mee, for because hee would haue spared me. I pray you my fellowes, if no manne had come to mee, or giuen me knowledge of the matter, should I this day haue beene put to aunswere, when no man would haue accused me? But be it that Dimnus were aliue and would spare me, what thinke ye by the other? Would they confesse of themselues, & forbeare me? Auarice is malitious and spitefull. An offender when hee is punished himselfe, vseth not to keepe silence to spare an other man. Commonly he that goeth to death wil spare no man, nor no man wil spare him that is ready to die: and yet so many als be guiltie and put to tormentes, will there none confesse the truth? But nowe I must aunswere to the point that was offence, if there were any. Why did I conceale treason? why did I heare it with so small regarde? This fault (if it were a fault) thou hast pardoned mee (O Alexander) whersoeuer thou art, by giuing mee thy hande, & bidding mee to thy banquet in token of attonement. If you did beleeue mee, I am cleare. If you forgaue mee, I am quite. Stande at the least to your owne iudgement. Alas what haue I doone since thys last night I went from your boorde? what newe report hath chaunged your mind? I rested in a sound sleepe, when mine enemies by their binding waked mee, that was sleeping in myne owne misfortune. Offendours when they cannot sleepe through their vnquiet conscience are wont to be vexed with cares, not onely when their mischiefe is intended, but also when it is ended. But this quietnes came vnto mee first through myne owne innocencie, and then by the kings pardon. I feared not that others crueltie should take more place then his mercy. But least hee shoulde forethynke, that beleeued me: yee shall vnderstande that the matter was first shewed mee by a light fellow, who could not bring any witnesse or warraunt of his tale: which if I had

disclosed,

disclosed, should haue put many menne to trouble. O vnhappy man, I thought mine eares had bene seduced with the brabblementes of two buggerers, and I suspected the trouble of the parte, because he dyd not vtter the matter himselfe, but procured his brother to do it. I was in feare that the one should haue denied that euer hee shewed any such matter to the other, and then should I haue seamed to procure much trouble to manye of the kinges frendes. So that where I offended none, I haue founde some more desirous to procure my death, then to saue my life: What hatred suppose ye shoulde I haue gotten if I had accused innocentes? But Dimnus slewe hymselfe, could I therefore diuyne afore that hee woulde so do? No surely. Thus hys death beyng the thyng that onlye tryed the accusation to bee true, coulde not moue mee to vtter it, beeing preuented by an other. And if I had bene Conspyratour wyth Dimnus of so greate a Treason: is it lyke that I would haue dissimuled by the space of two dayes after it was discouered? As for Ceballinus, it had bene small maistery to haue dispatched hym out of the waye. After the thing disclosed wherefore shoulde I haue declared the matter? I entred into the kinges chamber alone, hauing weapons about me, why deferred I my purpose? Darst I not attempt it without Dimnus? No, perchaunce ye will say, because he was the chiefe conspyratour. How then standeth it togither, that I shoulde bee his vnderling, which did couet to be king of Macedon? which of you all haue bene corrupte of mee with bribes? What Capitaine, what Officer haue I made of aboue other? It is laide to my charge that I abhorre the speaking of my countrey language, & that I disdayne the manners of the Macedons. What? do I despise the kyngdome that I couet? Ye knew well that our naturall tongue throughe the conuersation of strange Nations is gone out of vze: as well we that be victourers, as they that be subdued, must learne a newe language. But surely these thinges make no more against mee, then did the Treason that Amintas the Sonne of Perdicas intended agaynst the kyng: with him I had frendlhip I will not denye: except

yee

yee will make it a thing vnlawfull to loue the kinges brother. But sithens it was our ductie to honour a mã called to that degree of fortune, I beseech you am I guiltie because I could not gesse before that he would offend? Is the lawe such, that the frends of offenders must suffer beeing innocents? If that be reason, why liue I so long? If it be no reason, why am I condemned to dye? But when I wrote I had pitie of them that should liue vnder such a one as beleeued himselfe to be the sonne of Iupiter. O faithful frendship & daũgerous libertie of true councell, that deceiued mee, that compelled mee not to hide that I thought. I confesse that I wrote so to the king, but not of the king. I did it not for spite, but for my dueties sake. I thought it more meete for Alexander to haue knowledged the kindred of Iupiter with silence, then to haue made vaunt thereof with vaine boasting. But for because the truth of Gods Oracle is certeine, let God be witnesse in my cause. Reteine me in prison till ye may know Iupiters aunswere concerning this conspiracie, and in the mean season he that hath vouchsafed our king to be his son, will suffer none of them that haue conspired against his offspring to be vnknown. If you suppose torments to be more certein then Oracles, I will not desire to be saued from them in trial of the truth. There is an olde vsage, that such as bee put to aunswere vppon life and death, are wont to bring their parentes and kinsmen before you. Two brothers of late haue I lost: my Father neither can I bring forth, nor dare cal for, because hee is accused of this treason likewise. Is it a small thing for him that was the father of manye children, and hauing but one sonne left in whome to take pleasure, not onely to lose him, but also to lose his own life with him? Therefore my most deere Father shalt thou die for mee, and with me: It is I that ende thine olde daies: Why diddest thou beget me vnhappy wretch in hatred of the Gods, to take such fruit by me, as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth bee more vnhappy, or thy age. For I in the very flower of my youth am wedded vp, and the executioner shall bereaue thee thy life, which if fortune would haue suffered to continue, yet nature would haue asked it ere yt had

had bene long. The remembrance of my father doth put me in mind how loth & timerous I ought to haue ben to credit the report of tales. For when my father was enformed that Philip the phisition had prepared poyson for Alexander, he wrote a letter to warne the king that he should not receiue the medicine which his phisition had prepared. Was my father beleeued? was his letter of any authoritie? I my selfe when I haue reported such things as I haue heard, how often haue I bene shaken off with a checke for my light beleefe? So that when we tell things we are hated, and when we holde our peace we are suspected: what would you haue vs do?

Then one of the company that stood by, cryed out, that none ought to be traytours to them that put them in trust.

Thou saiest well (quoth Philotas) whosoeuer thou art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I require no respite of my paine. And here will I make an end of speaking, because my last wordes seeme tedious vnto your eares.

As he was speaking these words, his keepers led him away. There was amongst the Capitaines one Belon, a hardy man, but verye rude of all honest maner and ciuilitie, who being an olde souldier, was promoted from lowe estate, to the roume of a Capitaine. This Belon presuming vpon a foolish audacitie (when all other had done) began to tell them, that when diuers had taken vp their lodgings in the campe, howe they were thrust out by the seruantes of Philotas, which would lay their baggage wher other men were placed before: and how al the streets were full of his wagons, laden with golde and siluer. He added further that Philotas woulde

suffer none to lodge nere him, but alweies appointed certeine to wait whilest he slept, which should void al men alofe, to the intent he should not bee disquieted with any noise: not so much for wakening of him, as for his diseasing, & how he was so haughtie, ỹ he dispised the plaine men of Phrigia & Paphlagonia, & beeing a Macedon born, would not be ashamed to heare men of his own nation by an interpretour: & wheras Philotas had before moued to haue the oracle of Iupiter enquired of, he said it was meant therby to make God a lyer, for knowledging Alexander to be his sonne: as though any man should enuy ỹ king for ỹ title which the Gods had giuen hym. But why (quoth he) did he not aske counsell of Iupiter before he did offend? For now he would haue vs send for an Oracle, ỹ in the mean seasō his father which ruleth in Medea, might raise a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custodie assemble desperate persons to ỹ fellowship of his mischief. Neuertheles we shal (quoth he) send to Iupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the matter, but to giue hym thankes, and to dow him sacrifice, for the preseruation of so good a king. Then all the company was moued, and amongst the kinges houshold there beganne a crie that the traytour should be rent in peeces. Which thing Philotas, (who feared more greeuous punishment) was contente to heare. The king returning into the preasse deferred the counsell till the next day, for to commit

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Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or els in the mean season to get further knowledge of thinges. And albeit it drew towardes night, yet commaunded he his counsell to be called togither. Some of them thought it best that Philotas should be stoned to death after the Macedons lawes. Ephestion, Craterus, & Cen⁹, determined to haue the truth tried by tormentes, and then they which counseled the contrary, turned to their opinion. Therefore when the counsaile was broken vp: Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus, arose to take Philotas to the examination. The king called Craterus vnto him, and commaunding the rest to auoid, had secret communicatiō w̄ him in ẏ inner part of his lodging, the effect wherof came not to any mans knowledge: And there taryed till the night was far passed, to heare the end of the examination. The executioners set forth all sorts of cruel tormēts in the sight of Philotas, who of his owne mind said vnto them.

Why deferre you to kill such a one as hath confessed himselfe the kinges enemy and a traytour? What needeth more examination? It was myne intent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was, that whatsoeuer was confessed before, should bee confessed by Philotas againe vpon the racke. Which whilest hee was taken vp, his eyes bounden, & spoiled of his clothes, cryed out vpon the lawe of nature, and the Gods of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deafe eares. Finally as a condempned man

man, he was torne with most extreme tormẽts by his enemies, that wrung him sore for ỹ kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that, both fire & scourges were ministred vnto him, more to pain him then for any examinations sake: yet he had power of himselfe both to refraine from speaking and groning. But after that his bodie began to bolne with stripes, and that he could not abide the scourges which pearced vnto the bare bones: Then he promised if they would tormẽt him no more, hee would confesse whatsoeuer thei should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the life of Alexander, that they should cease their tormentes, and sette the racke aside. The which thing obteined, he saide Craterus: Tell me what ye will haue mee to confesse? Thereat Craterus was displeased, thinking by those wordes that hee had mocked him, & caused his torments to be renued. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whilest he might take his breath, and then he would vtter all that euer he knewe. In the meane season, the chiefe of the men at armes, and especially such as were nére to Parmenio in any degrée of kinred, after that the fame had bruted that Philotas was tormented, fearing the Macedons lawe (wherein it was ordeined that the kinsfolke of such as had done treason against the king, should pe put to death with the traytours: some slewe themselues, some fledde into wilde mountains, and walke wildernesses,

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and great dread and feare fell throughout al the hoste, vntil such time as the king hauing knowledge of the vproze, made proclamation that hée would pardon the rigour of the law to the kinsfolke of the traytours. But in conclusion Philotas made this confession, whether it were to deliuer himselfe out of paine by accusing himselfe falsly or not, it is doubted: sæing it is commonly sæne, that both such as truely confesse and falsly deny, come all to one ende.

You are not ignorant (quoth he) howe famyliar my Father was with Egilocus. I meane the same that was slaine in the field: he was the cause of al our mischiefe. For when the king toke vppon him the tytle of Iupiters sonne, he disdained thereat. Shall we knowledge him (quoth he) to bæ our king, that taketh scorn that Philip was his Father? Wee are all vndone if wæ can suffer this. He doth not onely despise men, but the Gods also, which wil bæ reputed a God. We haue lost Alexander, wæ haue loste our king: we are fallen to presumption, neither tollerable to the Goddes with whom hæ compareth, neither to men whom hæ despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which despiseth vs? which disdaineth to be in the number of men? Trust mæ that we also if wæ men shall be adopted like wise of the Gods: who hath reuenged ỳ death of Alexanders graundfather, or of Archilaus or Perdicas? But this man (quoth hee) hath forgiuen them that slew his father.

These were the wordes that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morow early my father sent for me, who was heauy, and saw me sad, for we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therfore to proue whether he babled those words through excesse of wine, or of an

aduised purpose conceiued before, we thought good to send for him, and seeking occasion of the same communication, he of his owne mind said further: that if we durst vndertake the aduenture he would not shrinke frō vs, or if our harts serued not, he would keepe our counsaile. Yet so lōg as Darius was liuing, my father thought all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexander shoulde bee to the auaile of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once rid out of the way, then he that could destroy the king, should obtein the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his reward: which counsaile beeing approued, faith & truth was giuen thereupon: but concerning Dimmus I knowe nothing. When he had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quoth he) that it doth not auaile mee that I am vtterly guiltles of this treason. Then they renued his torments againe, and so beate his face & his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, vntill they enforced him, not onely to confesse of himselfe, but also to shew the circumstances of the whole treason prepensed.

Because (quoth he) it seemeth that the king would soiourne long among the Bactrians, I was afrayde least my father that had so great a power in his hands, & the keeping of much treasure (beeing lxxx. yeares of age) should happen to die in the meane season, & then being disarmed of so great a strength, should not gette opportunitie to slea the king. Wherefore I hastened the matter whilest the pray was in hand.

Thus discouered he the conspiracie, wherof if they beleued his father to be the authour (hee said)

ſaid) for his triall he refuſed not to be tormented againe, though it were too grieuous for hym to endure. The officers then whiſpering togither, thought the examination to be ſufficient, and returned therewithall to the king, which on the morow cauſed all the confeſſion there to bee openly recited before Philotas: whom he cauſed to be led into the place, becauſe he was not able to goe, and there he confeſſed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought forth, which was coũted the greateſt doer in this conſpiracie next to Philotas. But hee with great proteſtation, & incredible ſtoutnes both of heart and countenance, denied that euer he intended any euill againſt the king, and for his trial deſired to be tormented. Then Philotas caſting his eyes about, ſpied one Calis ſtanding by, & made a ſigne to him to draw nære. Who being abaſhed, & refuſing to come forwards: Wilt thou (qd he) ſuffer Demetrius to lie, and me to be ſtreined againe? With thoſe wordes Calis became ſpæchleſſe, & chaunged colour. Then the Macedons began to ſuſpecte that he would accuſe innocentes, becauſe ỹ ſame Calis was neither named by Nichomachus, nor by Philotas himſelf in his tormentes. But finally Philotas before ỹ kinges officers ſtanding thereabout, confeſſed ỹ ỹ treaſon was conſpired by himſelf & Demetrius. Wherefore as many as were appeached by Nichomachus vpon a token giuen, were ſtoned to death according to the Macedons lawe.

Thus was Alexander deliuered from great perill, not onely of his life, but alſo of his ſuretie. For Parmenio and Philotas béeing of ſuch power, if they had not openly béene found culpable could not haue béene condemned without the grudge of the army. So long therefore as Philotas denied the thing, the matter ſéemed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruelly handled. But after that he had confeſſed the circumſtances, no man, not ſo much as his néere frendes, tooke any pitie of him.

¶THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



Like as the men of warr thought Philotas iustly put to death, his offence being fresh in memorie, euen so after he was gone, whō they before hated, their enuye was turned to pitie. The nobleneſſe of the young man mœued them much: so did the remembrance of the olde yéeres, and desolatiō of his father. He was the firſt that made the way open for Alexander into Asia, alwayes partaker of his perils, as he which in ỹ warres was euer capitaine of ỹ vangarde, chiefe in coūſaile with the king his father, and ſo truſtie to Alexander himſelfe, that in oppreſſing of Attalus his enemy, he would vſe none other mans ſeruice. The remembrance of theſe thinges was rife amongſt all the ſouldiers, & ſeditious words came to the kinges eares, who béeing litle mooued therewith, did wiſely with trauaile auoide the euill occaſions comming of idleneſſe. Wherfore he made it to be proclaimed that all menne ſhoulde bee in readineſſe before the Court gate, where they being once aſſembled, he came forth

to speake vnto them. And as was before deuised required the band of the Agrians to bring forth one Alexander Lyncestus, which long before Philotas had conspired the kinges death. This man beeing accused of two witnesses (as before saide) had remained in prison three yeeres together. Against whom it was proued that he was of counsaile with Pausanias in the killing of king Philip. But because he saluted first Alexander by the name of king, his punishment was deferred, rather then his offence forgiuen. For at the intercession of Antipater his Father in Lawe, the king had respyted his iust indignation for that time. But the olde festered sore brake out againe, and the consideration of hys perill present, renued the remembrance of his daunger passed. Therefore when hee was brought forth of prison, and commaunded to speake for himselfe, albeit hee had three yeeres leysure to deuise his aunswere, yet stammering and trembling coulde bring forth but little of ỹ which he purposed to say. And finally, both hys heart and his memory failed him. Wherefore there was none that doubted but that his fearefulnes was a token of a guiltie conscience, & no default of memory: so that whilest he was stackering and hacking in his tale, they that stoode nere thrust him through w̃ their pikes: whose bodie conueied out of the place, the king commaunded Amitas & Simmanas to bee brought forth: for Palemon their youngest brother,

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after hee had knowledge of Philotas tormente fled away. Of all Philotas frendes, these two were moste deare vnto him, and through hys commendation, aduaunced to high and honourable offices. The king remembring with what earnestnes & labor Philotas had brought them into his fauour, doubted not but they were priuie to this last conspiracie. Whereupon he declared to the multitude that hee had occasion of suspition against those men long ago by his mothers letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them, and that they nowe fearing the sequele of woorser inconueniences had made them sure, enforced thereunto by apparant presumptions. First he saide, the day before Philotas treason came to light, it was well knowne that they had much conference with him in secret: & also their brother which fled away when Philotas was on the racke, hee had declared by the absenting of himselfe the cause of his fleing. He shewed also that of late, cõtrary to their accustomed maner of waiting, without any cause mouing them thereunto, but onely by pretence of diligence they pressed nert about the king of all other: whereat marueiling that they would furnish a rome whereunto they were not appointed, became so in doubt of their clustering togither, that he returned into the traine of the gentlemen ỹ followed him. He declared besides, that when Antiphanes clarke of the stable, the daye before Philotas treason came to light, according

cording to his accustomable maner, gaue knowledge to Amintas that he shoulde deliuer of hys horse to such as had lost their owne: he proudly aunswered againe, that except he would content himselfe, he should know shortly what maner of man he was. Which violence of tongue and rashnes of wordes bulked out (quoth hee) was nothing els but a declaration and token of his trayterous hart. These thinges beeing true, (he saide) they had no lesse deserued then Philotas, and if they were otherwise, he desire ỹ they might aunswere vnto the points. Thereuppon Antiphanes was brought in to giue euidence of the horse not deliuered, and of his proud answer giuen with threatening. When Amintas had gotten libertie to speake, he desired of the king, that whilest they aunswered for thẽselues, their bands might be losed: which thing obteined, he made suite to haue his garment cast vpon him. Which Alexander not onely graunted, but willed a weapon to be deliuered to his hands, as other esquires vsed. When he had receiued the same, he eschues a litle the place where ỹ corpes of Lincestes lay, and said in this wise.

Whatsoeuer shall become of vs (sir king) wee must thinke if our chaunce be good, the same to proceede of your fauour, and if it bee euill, we must iudge the fault to bee in our fortune, seeing you suffer vs to pleade our cause without preiudice, setting our mindes free, and our bodies at large, with the same apparel restering vs wherein we were wont to followe you. Our cause is such that we cannot doubt of it, and we are passed the feare of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I will

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aunſwere firſt to thoſe points wherewith you charged vs laſt, We knowe moſt aſſuredly that we be innocent of any kinde of wordes ſpoken to the derogation of your Maieſtie: And durſt affirme that you had ouercome al enuy of men, but that peraduenture you would that I went about with faire wordes to excuſe things that haue beene maliciously ſpoken. Though it were ſo that wordes ſometime did eſcape vs, either when we were faint, or wearied in marching, hazarding our ſelues in fighting, or eis when we were ſick or dreſſing of our woundes: our honeſt doings otherwiſe do deſerue, that ye ſhould rather impute the ſame to the time then to any euill diſpoſition in vs: For it is commonly ſeene where any thing chaunceth amiſſe, all men in maner become guiltie of the fault. We doo violence ſom time to our owne bodies which we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fathers vnto the children, ſometime is both vngratefull, and alſo hatefull. But on the other ſide, when we receiue rewardes or giftes, or when wee come laden home with ſpoile, who can then ſtay vs? who can reſtraine our cheerefulnes? or who can reſiſte our courage in fighting? The nature of man is neither to keepe meaſure in diſpleaſure nor in gladneſſe. Thus are wee driuen by the violence of affection, ſometime with pitie, and ſometime with fury, as our preſente deſire doth gouerne vs. One while we are in minde to paſſe through India as farre as the Ocean ſea, and by and by the memory of our wiues, children, and countrey call vs backe againe, and doth alter our purpoſe. But as the trumpet ſoundeth, ſtreight all theſe imaginations do paſſe away, and euery man then runneth in to his aray, reuenging vpon their enemies the diſpleaſure they conceiued within their lodginges. I would Philotas had offended but onely in wordes: I will paſſe ouer that, and returne to the other point, whereof we be accuſed. The frendſhip that was betwixt Philotas & vs I will not only denie, but alſo confeſſe that we did couet the ſame, and receiued thereby great commoditie. Do you marueile that we did honour & eſteem the ſonne of Parmenio, whom you did chuſe to be next about your perſon, and did aduaunce aboue all other your frendes? You your ſelfe (if it pleaſe you to heare

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the truth) are the cause of this our perill. What other thing moued vs to craue Philotas frendship, thē that we desired to please you. By his preferment we were aduaunced to the degree of your fauour. Hee stoode in such case with you that it behoued vs as well to sue for his beneuolence, as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we sworne that we shoulde repute your enemies our enemies, and honor your frends as our own? Should we haue bene found disobedient in this bond of duetie? and specially towardes him, whome ye did preferre aboue all men? If this be a fault, ye haue few innocentes, or surely none at all. All men desired to bee Philotas frendes: but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if ye will make no difference betwæn the partners of his treason, and such as were his frends: then so manye bee offenders that would haue bæn hys frendes. What presumption haue you nowe that wee should offende? I thynke because yesterday Philetas talked with vs familiarly alone. Thereof I cannot excuse my selfe, if yesterday I chaunged anie thing of myne accustomed maner and liuing, but if so bee we vsed euerie day to do the like, then custome must nedes make it to bee none offence. But it may be said the horses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the daye before Philotas was detected, this matter was betweene Antiphanes and mee. If that be a iust cause of suspection that I woulde not then deliuer my horses, there shall arise a doubtfull Plea betweene the denyer and the demaunder, sauing that his cause is better that keepeth styll his owne, then his that requireth an other mans. I had tenne horses, of the which Antiphanes had distributed eight, to suche as had loste their owne: so there remayned onely two, which when he woulde proudly and wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keepe them still, except I would haue serued on foote. I cannot denie but this communication was had betweene a man of a free stomacke, and a person of a vyle nature, which could do no maner of seruyce, but take away mens horses, and giue them to others. What mischiefe is this, that at one tyme I must purge my selfe both to the kyng and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynt that

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your mother did wzite to you of vs, as of your enemies: I would God she had moze wisely bene carefull of her sonnes sauegarde, then doubtfully imagined such feyned figures. Why doth she not also expzesse the cause of her feare? Besides shee sheweth not her authour, nez yet signifieth one wozde whereby shee was moued to wzite vnto you such letters of fear. O wzetched estate of myne, which standeth in lesse hazarde to holde my peace then to speake. Yet howsoeuer the matter shall passe: I had rather myne excuse shoulde displease you, then my cause. If you remember when you sent mee to fetch newe souldiers out of Macedon, euen then yee shewed mee that in your Mothers house there lurked many lusty young Gentlemen: wherfoze you commaunded mee that in executing your commission, I should spare none, but bzing with mee perfoze all such as refused the warres. Which thing I did, & fulfilled your will therein moze largely then was expedient foz mee. Foz I bzought vnto you Gozgeas, Hecateus, and Gozgata, which now minister vnto you right acceptable seruice. What creature therefoze is moze wzetched then I, which if I had not fulfilled your will, should rightfully haue suffered, and now perish because I obeyed you? Foz truely there was none other cause that moued your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitie befoze a womans fauour: I bzought vnto you of Macedons vi. thousand footmen, and viij. hundzed hozsemen, of the which the moze parte would not haue followed mee, if I had released such as would not haue come. It is reason therefoze, that in as much as your mother is displeased with vs foz your cause, that ye mittigate her, in whose displeasure ye haue put vs.

Whilest Amintas was thus pleading his cause they that had pursued his bzother Palemon, (of whom we spake befoze) came leading him boũd into the place. Then ỹ rage of the people coulde scarcely bee pacified, but as the maner was in such cases, they would haue stoned Palemon to death. Yet hee boldely spake to them, and said.

I desire no fauour for my self, so that my flying be not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren whom if ye cannot thinke cléere, let the fault be laid to me. For their matter appeered the better, because I which fledde away am suspected. As soone as he had spoken these wordes, the whole assembly were enclined in his fauour, & resolued to teares, being so sodeinely contrary turned, y now they were all conuerted on his part, which a litle before were all against him. He was in the prime & flower of his youth, and through other mens feare fled away amongst those horsemen, which were amazed at Philotas tormẽts. His company had left him behinde, and whilest he was in doubt whether he might turn againe or flie further forwardes, was taken by them which pursued after him. He then begã to wæp and beate himselfe about the face: not so much lamenting his owne chaunce, as that case of his brethren being in danger for his cause, with which his behauiour he mœued the king, and al the company there present. Onely his brother Amintas could not be pacified, but beheldе hym with a fierce countenance, and saide.

O mad creature, then oughtest thou to haue wepte, when thou diddest put thy spurres to thy horse, as a traytour to thy brethren, and a companion of traitours. Thou wretch, whither and from whence diddest thou then flie? Thou hast nowe brought to passe, that both I am thought worthy of death, and also must become an accuser of other.

Palemon there-vppon confessed himselfe to

haue

haue offended in that point, but moze greeuouslie against his bzethzen, then towards himselfe. Then the multitude could not abstain frō weeping and shouting: being tokens whereby men in an assembly are wont to declare their affections: and with one consent they cried al to the king with one voice, that hee should spare innocents, and men of seruice: his frendes also vpon that occasion did rise, and with weeping eies required the king of mercie. Then he cōmaunded silence, and saide.

By mine owne iudgement I doe pardon both you Amintas and your bzethzen, desirous that you should be moze mindfull of my benefite, then of your own ieoperdie. Come in fauour againe with mee with that fidelitie I am reconciled vnto you. Except those things which were bzought in euidence had been debated and tryed to the vttermost, my dissimulation might haue bene suspected in this matter. Better it is therfoze to be cleared in ielousie, and thinke that no man can be acquited, except he be first detected. Thou Amintas pardon thy bzother, and let that be a token of thy heart reconciled vnto mee.

This done, the king dismissed the assemblie, and sent foz Polydamas, whom of all men Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwaies to stande nert him in battaile. And though the clærenes of his conscience did assure him to come boldlie: yet after hee was commaunded to bzing fozth his bzethzen being but young, and vnknown to the king, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubt, imagining in his minde rather such thinges as might hurte him, then by what meanes he was thus circumuented. In

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the meane season the garde which had cõmaundement thereunto, brought forth his brethren. When the king saw Polidamus pale for feare, he called him neere, and commaunding all men apart, said vnto him.

Through Parmenio his treason wee were all in daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whome vnder colour of frendship hee deceiued moste: In the pursuing and punishing of whom, see howe much I trust thy fidelitie: For I am determined to vse thee as a minister therin, and whilest thou goest about it, thy brethrẽ shall be thy pledges. Thou shalt go into Medea, and beare my letters to my officers, writtẽ with mine own hand. It is necessary haste bee made, that the swiftnes of the same may be preuented. I will that ye come thither in the night, and that the tenour of my writing be executed the day after. Ye shal cary letters likewise to Parmenio, one from mee, and another written in the name of Philotas. I haue his signet in my custodie. So that when Parmenio shall see both you, and the letter sealed wyth his sonnes Ring, hee wil be without suspition.

Polidamus being thus deliuered of feare, promised his diligence a great deale more earnestly then it was required. When Alexander sawe his promptnes in the matter, he both cõmended his good will, and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell, and toke other after the Araby fashion, wyth two men of the same countrey to be his guides, for whose truth their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camelles thorough such places as were deserte for lacke of moysture, and within eleuen dayes came to their iourneyes ende, before

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any knewe of their comming. Polidamus then toke again his Macedon apparell, & in the dead of ỹ night came into Cleanders lodging, which had the chiefe authoritie there, nerte onto Parmenio. When Cleander by his letters vnderstode the kinges pleasure, Polidamus hauing moze letters to deliuer likewise to others, agreed by the spring of the daye to go altogither vnto Parmenio. As they were going, tidings came to Parmenio of Polidamus arriuall, who reioicing both foz the comming of his frende, and foz the desire hee had to knowe of the kinges estate (the rather because he had receiued no letter from him of a long space) commaunded Polidamus to be sought out. The houses of that Countrey haue large backesides, and pleasaunt Orchards full of trées, beeing the chiefe delight of Princes, and great Lozdes there. The Capitaines which had receiued commandement by the kinges letters to kill him, came to Parmenio, walking vnder the shadowe of the trées, beeing agréed amongst themselues to execute the thing, when hee shoulde beginne to reade his letters. So soone as Parmenio had espyed Polidamus comming a farre off, with a semblaunt of ioy (as it appéered by his countenance) ranne to embrace him, and after salutation giuen eche to other, deliuered the kings letter. As he was vnclosing it, he demaunded of Polidamus what the king intended to do: you shall knolw ỹ (quoth he) by ỹ contents of your letters.

Which

Which when hee had read: I perceiue (quoth Parmenio) that the king purposeth a voiage against the Arachosians: surely he is a painefull prince, & neuer in rest. But nowe after so much glorie wonne, it were time for him to take his ease, and haue consideration of his health & saue garde. And then he reade the other letter written in the name of Philotas, whereat hee was ioyfull as appéered by his countenaunce. Then that Cleander stabbed him with his sword into the side, and after striking him ouer the throte, the residue thrust him in as he laye dying. But Parmenios men which stood nére at hand, and sawe the murder, whereof they knewe not the cause, ran into the campe, and with their troublous tidinges, set all the souldiers in an vprore. They ran streight to harnesse, and clustring togither about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamation, that except Polidamas and the other dwers of that déede were deliuered to their handes, they would ouerthrowe the wall, and make sacrifice to their dead Capitaine with the bloud of the offenders. Cleander willed the chiefe of them to be let in, and recited the kinges letters, wherein was conteined the treason of Parmenio intended against him, w a requeste to them to see him reuenged. Then immediately vpon the kinges pleasure knowen, the sedition was appeased, but the grudge was not ridde out of their harts. The moste parte departed, sauing a fewe, which required instantly

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that at the leaſt they might be ſuffered to burie the bodie. It was denied them long by reaſon of Cleander, who dreaded the kinges diſpleaſure: but becauſe they beganne to ware more earneſt, intending to auoide matter of ſedition, he cut of the head, which he ſent the king, and left them the body to burie. This was the end of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre & peace: many thinges had he done valiauntly without the king, but the king without him neuer did any thing worthy of praiſe. He ſerued and ſatisfied in all affaires a king moſte happy and fortunate, and béeing lxx. yéeres of age, executed the office of a Capitaine as liuely as if he had béene young in yéeres, & pretermitted not often times the partes of a common ſouldier. He was quick in counſaile, doughty of déede; welbeloued of all Princes, but moſt déere to the common ſorte of ſouldiers. Yet whether thoſe thinges did mooue him to couet to be king, or els cauſed him to bee ſuſpected thereof, it is yet doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas ſpake, when he was ouercome with the paines in his laſt torments were true or falſe, or els that he ſought an ende of his paine by accuſing himſelfe falſly, it was much doubtfull, ſéeing there was nothing prooued at ſuch time as the matter was moſt freſh in memorye. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were ſeperated from the reſte of the army, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas their Capitaine, which

in times past was of nére familiaritie with Parmenio: The king bare priuy displeasure against them, and therefore willing to proue the disposition of euery man, gaue warning through out the army, that all such as would write into Macedonia, and haue their letters surely conueyed, should bring them to be caryed with such as he would send. Whereupon euery man did write frankely to their frendes such thinges as were in their harts. Some shewed themselues to be offended with the long warres: and some seemed to be well pleased. But all their letters were intercepted, as wel of such as commended the king, as of those that grudged at his doings. Wherefore hee willed such as by their letters disclosed themselues to be weary of the trauaile of the warres, for their reproch to be put in bãd aparte from the reste. Whereby hee both gaue them occasion to shewe their hardinesse, and besides remoued the libertie of their tonges from the credulous eares of the reste. Which rash deuyse, as all other thinges, turned to the setting forth of the kinges felicitie. For in all extremeties they shewed themselues the readiest, and the moste forwarde: and whylest they coueted to redéme their reproch, their valiaunt doings could not bee hidden in so small a number seperated by themselues. These things being ordred after this maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaimed his iourney against the Araspians: which, by chaunging of their name,

were

were called Euergitãs, since the time that they relieued Cirus army with lodging and victuals being afflicted with colde and penury. It was ỹ fifth day before he entered into their countrey, where he vnderstood that Satribarzanes which toke Bessus parte was with a power of horsemen entered againe amongst the Arians. Hee sent against him Caranus and Erigius, and in their ayde Artabazus and Andromachus, wyth six thousand Greeke footemen, and six hundreth horsemen. Alexander continued threescore dayes in setting order amongst the Euergitans: vpon whom he bestowed a great summe of mony, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towardes Cirus: and leauing Amenides to bee their gouernour (who was Darius secretarie) he wente to subdue the Arachosians, which border vpon the Sea of Ponte. The men of warr that were vnder Parmenios rule, came then to Alexander, being six thousand Macedons, wyth two hundred of the Nobilitie, fiue thousand Greeke footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were the chiefest force of his power. To these Arachosians, Memnon was appointed lieutenant with iiij. thousand footmen, and six hundred horsemen. Alexander from thence entered with his armye into a country not knowne to such as haue bordered vppon it: for the inhabitantes would not haue conuersation with any other people. They were called Paramisadans, beeing a rusticall kind of men, & most rude amongst all the barba-

rous nations : the hardnes of the countrey had so indurated their dispositions. They lye moste towards the colde North pole, ioining with the Bactrians vpon the west, and bending towards the Indian Sea vppon the south. They vse to build their houses of brick, and because the land is full of barreine mountaines, and void of timber they make their whole houses of the same, which beginning broad beneath, growing euermore narrowe towardes the toppe, and like the kéeles of a shippe, whereas the holes be made aboue to receiue light. Such of their vynes and trées that bring forth fruit, as they wil preserue from the violence of the colde, they couer them with earth during the winter season, and when the snowe is vanished away, they restore them againe to the aire and to the sunne. The earth was there couered with snowe frozen so harde, that there remained no signe of any birde or beast within the cuntrey. The aire besides was so darke, that litle light appéered: but the earth couered as it were with a dym shadowe, men could scarsly discerne things very nére at hand. The army brought into this countrey desolate of all cultuation of man, suffered all the discommodities and miseries that might bee endured, both of hunger, colde, wearines, and despaire. There were many of them that dyed for colde: and the snow destroied their féete: but specially it perished many mens sight. When they were wearyed, and not able to trauaile any further,

they

they laid themselues down vpon ỹ frozen snow, and hauing once left the mouing of their bodies which stirred in them their naturall heate, they were streightwaies so nummed for colde, that they could not rise againe, till that they were lift vp by their companions. And remedy was there none in this matter, but to compell them to go forwards: for then by stirring of thẽselues their natural heate was reuiued, and they recouered againe some strength. Such as recouered the cottages wherein the countrey men dwelled, were verie well refreshed. But the darknes was so great, that the houses could not be other wise discerned then by the smoke. The inhabiters that had neuer sæne straungers before amongst them, when they beheld the armed men comming sodeinly vppon them, were amazed for feare, and brought forth whatsoeuer they had, to saue their bodies from violence. Alexander went on his fæte amongst his men, raising such as were lying, & relieuing such as he sawe afflicted with the colde, with his owne clothes. He was sæne one while in the forward, another while in the middest, and sometime in the rereward to the great trauaile of his bodie. At length he came to places better manured, wher he refreshed his army with plenty of victualles, and there remayned in campe till such tyme as all that were lefte behinde came vnto their fellowes. Then he went forwards with his army to the mount Caucasus, which deuideth al Asia

into two parts. For on the one side it stretcheth towards the sea of Cilicia, and on the other side to the Caspian sea, to the Riuer of Arares, and the desertes of Scithia. To this mount Caucasus, ther ioineth another mountain called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, which riseth frō Capadocia, and passing by Cilicia, closeth with the mountaines of Armenia. Out of these mountaines ioyning thus togither as it were in one continuall rydge, all the Ryuers of Asia do descende. Some of them running into the Red sea, some into the Caspian and Hircanian sea, and other into the sea of Ponte. In xviij. dayes Alexander with his army passed the mount Caucasus, where in a Rocke that is ten furlonges in compasse, and foure in height, the antiquitie fained that Prometheus lay bound. At the fote of this mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a Citie, wherein he placed vj. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and such other besides, whose seruice he would not vse any more in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celeritie, made sacrifice vnto the Goddes of his countrey, and according to the custome of those Nations, consulted with hys frendes, and his Capitaines, for the maintenance of the warres being at meate. And when they were well charged with wine, they extolled greatlie their owne power, despising the rashnes of their enemies, and their small number. But chiefly

Bessus

Bessus was most arrogant in his wordes, who puffed vp with pryde by reason of the kingdome he had newly gotten by treason, and not master of his wittes, began to declare, howe that Darius by his follye had increased hys enemyes fame, who would nædes fight with them in the streightes of Cilicia, when by retyring backe hee might haue drawne them (before they had bæne ware) into deserte places, and there haue put Riuers and mountaines betweene his enemies and him, and amongst the same so inclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse any resistance. Wherfore (he saide) hee was become of opinyon to retyre backe amongst the Sogdians, whereas the Ryuer of Orus shoulde bee as a wall betwirte him and his enemies, till such time as he might assemble a strong power of the Nations thereabout: knowing very well that the Chorasmions, the Dahans, and Sacads, the Indians and Scithians, inhabiting beyond the Riuer of Tanais, would come to his assurance: of whome there was none so lytle, that any Macedon with toppe of his heade could reach to hys shoulders. They are all in their dronkennesse assented to hym, affyrming that to bee the wisest waye. Whereuppon Bessus caused the Wyne to bee caryed about plentifully to conquere Alexander vppon drinke. There was at that feast one Cobares a Medean, which in the Arte Magike (if it be an Arte, and not rather a deceite of

some vaine man) was more notable by his profession then by his knowledge, but otherwise a moderate and an honest man. Hee making a preamble before his tale, saide: He was not ignorant howe much better and more profitable it were to be obedient to others counsell, then to be a counsaile giuer. For such as be followers of other mens deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the reste: but such as be authours and perswaders of any matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the cuppe he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this respecte maye bee called peruerse and euill, because euery one can see better in other mens matters, then in their owne. Their counsailes must needes bee alwaies full of perturbations, which take their owne aduise. For feare is impediment to some, desire vnto other, and to many the selfe loue of the thing they haue deuised. I wil not speake of pride nor impute it vnto any man. Yee haue seene experience how euery one doth esteeme that thing onely to be best, which he himself hath inuented. The diademe of a king that you weare vpon your head is a great burden, which if it be borne moderately, the weight thereof wyll oppresse the bearer. It is not fury can auayle in this case, but wise and prudent counsaile.

When he had spoken those wordes, he rehearsed a Prouerbe commonly vsed amongst the Bactrians, which is, that a ferefull Dogge doth barke more then byte, and that the deepest riuers doth run with least noyse. Which things I haue rehearsed, because such prudence may appeare as remayned amongst the barbarous.

As

As hee talked after this manner, such as heard hym wondered to what ende this tale woulde come. Then he beganne to shewe his aduyse, which was more profitable to Bessus thē greate full.

Alexanders celeritie (quoth hee) that hee is come in maner to the entery of your court. He can remoue his army before you can remoue this table. You say that you will drawe your assistance from the River of Tanais, and that you will put riuers betwixt you & your enemies. I would knowe if he be not able to followe, whersoeuer you shall flie. If the way be indifferent, it must nedes bee most easie and assured to the victourer. And though you think feare wil make much speed, yet hope is more swift. It were therefore mee thinkes expedict, to procure the fauour of him that is the mightiest, and yeelde your selfe vnto the stronger. Howe soeuer he shall accept it, your fortune is more like to bee better that way, then to remaine still an enemy. Consider that you possesse an other mans kingdome, and therefore yee may the better departe therewithall. For yee cannot bee a iust king, til you receiue the kingdome of him that is able to giue it, and take it away. This is a faithfull counsaile, wherfore it is not necessary to delay the executiō therof. The horse that is of noble courage will bee gouerned with the shaddowe of a rodde. But the dull beast is not pricked forwardes with the spurres.

Bessus that was fierce of nature, and well set forwardes with drinking, became in such a furye with his wordes, that he could scarcely be holden by his frends from the sleaing of Cobares, for he pulled out his sworde to haue doone the deed, and departed out of the feast in a great rage. But Cobares in this sturre escaped away and came vnto Alexander. Bessus had eight M.

Bactri-

Bactrians attending vpon him: Which so long as they iudged that by intemperatenes of the ayre in those partes, the Macedons would rather haue gone into India, then into Bactria, were very obedient at commaundement. But when they vnderstood that Alexander was comming towardes them, euery one shrunke away and forsoke Bessus. Then he with a bande of his familie which were yet faithfull vnto him, passed the Drus, burning such boates as caryed him ouer, because that ỹ same should not serue his enemy in following him, and assembled a new power amongst the Sogdians. Alexander as it hath bene saide before, passed the Mount Caucasus: but for lacke of corne his army was brought in manner to the extremitie of hunger. In sted of oyle they were faine to anoynt themselues with a iuice which they wring out of Sesema: but euery measure thereof called Amphora, was sold for cccl. deniers: euery like measure of honye for cccc. and of wine for ccc. & yet of the same was very little to bee gotten. They haue in that cuntrey certeine vessels called Sirye, which the inhabitantes vse to hyde so priuily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The countreymen burie their corne after that maner, for want whereof the souldiers were faine to liue with herbes, and such fysshe as they caught in the Ryuers. But that kynde of foode wanting also, they were enforced to slea their cariage beastes, and

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liued with the flesh of them till they came into Bactria, the nature of the soyle of which countrey is diuers and of sundry kindes. Some place is plentifull of wood and vynes, and aboundant of pleasaunt fruyte, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of springes. Those partes which be moste temperate are sowed with corne, and the rest be reserued for feeding of beastes. But the greateste parte of that countrey is couered ouer with barreine sandes, and wythered vp for want of moysture, nourishing neither man, nor bringing forth fruite: But with certein winds that come from the Sea of Ponte, the sande in the plaines is blowen togither in heapes, which seeme a farre off like great hylles, whereby the accustomed wayes be so dammed, that no signe of them can appeere. Therefore such as do passe those playnes, vse to obserue the starres in the night, as they doe which sayle the Seas, by the course of them directing their iourney. The nightes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes: wherefore in the day time the countrey is wylde and vnpassable, when they can finde neyther any tracte nor way to go in, nor marke nor signe whereby to passe, the starres beeing hidden by the mist. If the same wynde chaunce to come during the time that men be passing, it ouerwhelmeth them with sande. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plenty both of men and horse: So that the Bactrians may make twenty thousand horsemen.

Bactria

Bactria which is the head Cittie of that region standeth vnder a mountaine called Parapanisis: the ryuer called Bactras runneth by the walles, whereof bothe the Cittie and the Countrie take their names. Alexander lying there in campe, receiued aduertisement out of Greece, howe the Lacedemonians, and the whole countrie of Peloponese had rebelled against him. For they had not lost the battail at such time as the messengers were dispatched that brought the newes of their reuolt. In the necke of this euill tidings there came another present terror, which was that the Scithians inhabiting beyonde the riuer of Tanais, were comming to ayde Bessus. And at the same time tydinges came to him of the battaile that Caranus and Erigius had fought with the Arians, where Satibarzanes that was newelie reuolted being chiefe of the countrey, séeing the battaile to remaine equall on bothe sides, ridde into the fore front, and plucked of his helmet, forbidding any of his side eyther to cast Darte, or strike stroke, and there made a challenge to fight hande to hande, if anie man durst come forth and proue his strength. Erigius Captaine to the Macedons was a man striken in yéeres, but yet not inferiour to anie young man, either in stoutnes of stomacke, or strength of bodie, who coulde not beare the proude arrogancie of Satibarzanes, but stepped forwardes, and plucking of hys helmet likewise, shewed his hoare heare. The

day

day is come (quoth he) that I will shew either by the victorie, or by my honest death, what kinde of men Alexander hath to his frends and his souldiers: and without more wordes made towardes his enemie. It coulde not be iudged but that bothe Armies had stayed their handes by appointment. For they gaue backe immediatlie on bothe sides, to let them haue free scope, eche partie standing in expectation what should become of the challengers, for they coulde not but thinke themselues partakers of their aduenture. Satibarzanes first charged his staffe, which Erigius auoyding by bending his heade aside, but he in the middes of his race, strake the other with his speare through the throte, so that it came forth againe at his necke. Satibarzanes vpon that stroke fell from his horse, but yet made resistance till such time as Erigius plucked the speare out of the wounde, and thrust it againe into his mouth: who to rid himselfe out of the paine, furthered his enemies stroke. The Arians seeing their Captaine slayne, whome they had followed rather of necessitie then of their owne free willes, called to remembraunce Alexanders benefites, and yeelded themselues to Erigius. Alexander reioyced much of the good successe of this matter, doubting greatlie the Lacedemonians: but hee bare out their rebellion stoutlie, saying that they durst neuer disclose their meaning, till they knewe he was come to the confines of India. Alexander ha-

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uing remoued hys campe, and going forwards in the pursuyte of Bessus, Curigius met hym, presenting the spoile of his enemy, as a memorie of his victorie. Thereupon he committed the rule of Bactria to Artabazus, where with a garison he left his cariage, and wyth a power that was light to iourney, entered into the desertes of the Susitanes, conueyghing his Armye by nyght. In the want of water (that hath beene declared before) desperation mooued them to thirst before they had desyre to drynke. For by the space of foure hundred furlonges, they found no water at all. The vapour of the Sunne beeing in the sommer season, did so burne the sand, that when it began to ware hotte, it starcheth all things as it had beene with a continuall fire. And then the light somewhat obscured by a myste that rose out of the earth by the immoderate heate, caused the playnes to haue appearaunce of a mayne Sea. Their iourney in the night seemed tollerable, because their bodyes were some-what refreshed with the dewe and the colde of the morning. But when the daye came, and the heate rose, then the drought dryeing vp all the natural humors: both their mouthes and their bowels were enflamed for heate. Then their hartes fayled, and their bodies fainted, being in case that they could neither stande still, nor passe forwardes. A fewe ỹ were taught by such as knewe the countrey, had gotten water, which refreshed them some-what: but as

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the heate increased, so their desyre grewe again to drinke. Then there was no remedy but to giue among the souldiers all the wine and oyle that remained in store. For drinke was so sweet vnto them, that it toke away the feare of anye thyrst to come. But such as had gulled in greedily the water that they got, became so heauie, that they were neyther able to beare theyr Armour, nor goe forwardes: so that they seemed then moste happy that had gotten no water at all: for such as had taken of it inordinatly, were enforced by vomit to put vp the same again. As Alexander carefull in this calamitie stode with his frends that were perswading of him to haue respecte to himselfe, for that he onely, and the greatnes of his heart should be relefe vnto this aduersitie: There came two souldiers, which going before wyth such as had taken vp the campe, had founde water, and were carying of it in bottels vnto their sonnes, which were sore afflicted for wante of drynke behinde in the Armye. When they sawe the king, one of them opened his bottell, and filling a cuppe that hee had, presented water to the kyng: who receyuing it at hys hande, demaunded to whom they caryed that water: they sayde to their sonnes. Then hee restored to him the cuppe againe full as it was giuen him, and said: I wil not drinke alone: for so little cannot bee deuided amongst vs all. Make you haste therefore to cary to your sonnes that you haue gotten with your trauaile

But he trauailed so long, that before night he came to the ryuer Drus: The more part of the Armie, not able to follow for feeblenes, were left farre behinde: to the intent therefore that such as followed after, might knowe where the campe was become, he caused a fyre to be made in the top of an hill, and gaue order that when the vaward had refreshed themselues with meate and drinke, they shoulde fill their bottels with water, and goe backe with the same to releeue their fellowes. The breath of such as dranke intemperatelie closed vp, and they dyed immediatlie: the number of whome was greater then euer Alexander lost in any battaile. But he would neither put of harneis, refresh himselfe with meate and drinke, nor ease his bodie: but stode in the way where his armie passed, not departing till the last man was come into the campe. He watched all that night, and passed it ouer in great trouble of minde. And the day that ensued brought no release of his care. For there were neither boates to passe the ryuer withall, nor he could make anie bridge, seeing there was no wode growing nie at hande. But at length he found out a deuise, whereunto onelie necessitie did driue him. They toke beastes skinnes and stuffed them full of strawe, whereupon they layde themselues, and so swome ouer the water. Such as first recouered the further side, stode in order of battaile till the rest were passed, by which meanes in fiue dayes he conueyed

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ouer his whole army. Hauing thus passed ouer the riuer of Drus, his purpose was to passe forwards in the pursuite of Bessus, till he vnderstoode such things as had chaunced amongst the Susians. There was one Spitamenes, whoms Bessus chiefly honored of all his frendes. But there be no benefites that can stay a man giuen to periurie and falshode: which in him was the more tollerable, because he iudged no mischiefe to great for him that hath slaine his prince. For the reuenge of Darius was a faire colour to his offence: but it is to be thought, that his present fortune was more enuyed, then his doinges in time past hated. When it was knowne that Alexander had passed the Riuer of Drus, Spitamenes did associate with him in his enterprise, Dataphernes, and Catenes, whom Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter more readily then he would desire them, and taking to them eight young men that were strong of personage, vsed this kinde of pollicie. Spitamenes repaired to Bessus, and getting him alone, enformed him that he had founde out how Dataphernes and Catenes had conspyred to delyuer him aliue into Alexanders handes, whereas (he saide) hee had preuented them whilest they were about their purpose, hauing taken them both, and put them faste in prison. Bessus then thinking himselfe much bounden to him for so great a good turne gaue him many thanks. And for the desire hee had to bee reuenged of his ene-

mies, willed Spitamenes to bring them to his presence. He caused their handes to bee bounde behynde their backes, and to be brought by such as were priuy to their confederacie. When they came in Bessus presence, he beheldе them with a fell countenance, and rose vp to haue striken at them. But they lefte their counterfeyting, and streight-wayes enclosing Bessus about, bounde him strugling in vayne, and pulled the Diademe from his head, tearing his garment from hys backe, which sometime belonged to his Prynce whom he had slayne. When he saw hymselfe in this case, he confessed that the Gods had rightfully reuenged his treason, and perceiued plainly by the plague that they sent him, that both they fauoured Darius, & were frends to Alexander, whose enemyes euermore preferred his victorie. It is vncertaine whether the multitude would haue assisted Bessus, or no: but that Spitamenes had deuised the thing to be done by Alexanders appointement, whereby he put them in feare, beeing yet doubtfull of minde, and set Bessus vpon an horse, wherupon he brought him vnto Alexander. He in ỹ meane season had chosen out nine hundred, such as by reason of their age were not meete for the warres, and gaue to euery horseman twoo talentes, and to euery footeman three thousande denyers. That done he dispatched them home, and gaue thankes vnto the reste, because they promysed to continue with hym till hee had brought hys

warres

warres to an ende. Bessus was presented vnto him at a lyttle Towne, whereof the inhabyters bee called Branchidans: whiche in tymes past by the commaundement of Xerxes, when hee came out of Græce, were brought from Miletum and placed there, because that in his fauour they had violated a Temple called Dydyma. They had not altogither forgotten their countrey customes, but had mired their tongue, which by little and little were fallen from their owne language, and yet had not attayned the countrey spæch. They receyued the king with great ioye, yælding themselues and their Citie vnto his will. Whereupon he called vnto him the Milesians, that serued him in his warres (who bare an auncient hatred against the generation of the Branchidans) and put in their hands to determine whether they would saue them for ỹ cuntry sake, or els destroy them for the iniury they had done in times past. But when the Milesians coulde not agræe in opinion, he said he would order the matter himselfe. The nexte daye when the Branchidans came to mæte him, he returned them all againe into the Citie, and commaunded hys footemen to enclose the Citie about, and entered with such as he appointed for the purpose, and by a token giuen put all to the swordе, and spoiled the Citie as a receptacle of traytours. They beeing wythout Armour, and vnprouyded, were slayne in euerys place. For neyther the

affinitie of their tongue, nor any praier or intercession coulde mittigate their enemies crueltie, which after the destruction of the Towne did cast downe the walles to the ground, so that no memorie therof should remain. That done, they did not onely cutte downe the woodes wherein they vsed their sacrifice: but also plucked vp the trées by the rootes, that the ground might be left barreine as a deserte. If the same thinges had béene done against the very offenders, the reuenge might haue béene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessors vppon the posteritie, it might bée thought a cruell acte, séeing there was not anye of them that had euer séene Miletum, or done to Xerres any kinde of pleasure. As Alexander remoued from thence towardes the Riuer of Tanais, Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoiled of his garments: whome Spitamines led in a cheine put about his neck: a pleasant sight to beholde, as well to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come with him into Alexanders presence, he said.

I haue brought hére vnto you the killer of his own maister, after the same maner that he himselfe gaue the example: wherein I haue both reuenged Darius that was my king, and you also that nowe haue got the souereignitie. Let Darius open his eyes, & rise frō death to behold this sight, that was vnworthy of such an end and worthy to receiue such a comfort as this is.

After that Alexander had giuen Spitamenes thanks, he turned himselfe vnto Bessus, & said:

What

What beastly wodnes moued thee to take thine own Prince prisoner, and afterwards to kill him, hauing so well deserued of thee: of which thy doinges thou hast receiued sufficient rewarde by vsurping the counterfeit name of a king.

He had no hart to make aunswere, nor excuse his offence, sauing that he saide: he toke vppon him to bee king, because he might deliuer him possession of the countrey, which thing if he had omitted, some other he said had toke it in hand. Then Alexander called for Oxatres Darij brother, whom he had placed about his person, and committed Bessus to his kéeping, to the intent he should cut off his eares and his nose, & hange him vppon a crosse, causing his owne menne to shote him through with arrowes, & so preserue his bodie that byrdes should not touch him. Oxatres promised to performe all the reste, sauing the kéeping away of the byrdes, which for ỹ desire he had to set forth Catenes cunning, affirmed that none could so well kéepe them awaye as he, who did shote so assuredly, that he coulde stryke the byrdes flying in the ayre. And though it was a cunning not so much to bee marueiled at in a nation so expert in shooting: yet was it greatly wondered at of such as did beholde him, and was great honour vnto the doer. He gaue rewards to al such as were the bringers of Bessus, but he deferred his punishment, because he minded to put him to death in the same place where he slewe Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a forraging without order,

were ouerthrowne by the enemies ý came running downe from the next mountaines. They toke more then they did kill, and driuing their prisoners before them, retired againe to ý mountaines. There were of them to the number of xx. thousand which accustomed to liue by theft, vsing slynges and bowes in their fight, whome whilest Alexander did besiege, and in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremost, he was striken with an arrow in the midst of his leg, where ý head sticked still. The Macedons that were sorrowfull and amazed for their kings hurt, caried him into his campe, of whose departure out of ý fielde his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all thinges from the mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadors vnto Alexander, whome he admitted to his presence, and vnfoulding his wound, whereby he might dissimule the greatnes thereof, shewed his leg vnto thē. When they were commanded to sit downe, they said, that hearing of his hurt, they were as sorowfull for it as his owne subiectes, which should well be known: for if they could find out the person that did the dæde, he should be deliuered vnto his handes: they could not (they saide) iudge them but Sacrileges, ý would fight with Gods, of whose vertue they supposed him to be, and therefore were determined to yelde themselues. Therupon he gaue vnto them assurance, and receiuing againe his men that were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subiectes.

That

That done he remoued his campe, and was caried in a foote litter: for the bearing wherof the horsemen and footemen contended togither. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the king accustomed to fighte amongst them. And the footemen argued for their parte, that in so much as they vsed to carie the hurt souldiers, they thought no reason their office shoulde be taken from them, chiefly when ỹ king should be caryed. Alexander therefore in so great a contention of both parts, thought it a difficult matter to giue sentence, because the iudgement should bee greeuous to them that should bee put from the office, and therefore ordred that they shoulde carie him by course. From thence the fourth day he came vnto a citie called Maracãda, the walles whereof were lxx furlongs about, but the Castle was without any wall: he set a guarrison in the Citie, and then burned and destroied the countrey thereabouts. Embassadors came vnto him thyther from the Scythes called Auians, which had beene free since the tyme that Cyrus was amongst them: but yet they shewed themselues then readie to be at his commaundement. They were knowne to be moste righteous people of all the barbarous nations, as men that neuer vsed to make war but whẽ they were prouoked, whose moderation & temperance in vsing of their libertie, made the inferiors equall vnto the superiors. Alexander receiued them gently, and sent Penidas a frende

of his to those Scithes that inhabited within Europe, to forbid them to passe the riuer of Tanais without his appointment: Who had also a secret commission to view the situation of the countrey, and to visite those Scithians that inhabited about Bosphorus. He willed him besids to chose out a place vpon the brinke of Tanais, whereas he might build a citie, to remaine as a fortresse for the subduing of those people that he intended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebellion of the Sogdians, who had also drawne the Bactrians to their parte. There were of them seuen thousand horsemen, whose authoritie the reste followed: for the aduauntage of whome Alexander caused Spitamenes and Catenes (the betrayers of Bessus) to be sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the countrey againe to his obedience, and to subdue such as had made this stirre. But they which were iudged meete to staye the rebellion, and were sente for that intent, were the chiefe authors of all the reuolt. For they caused it to be noysed abroad that Alexander had sent for the Bactrian horsemen of purpose to kill them all: Which commission (they saide) beeing appointed to them, they would not execute, because they dyd thinke it ouer foule an acte to commit against their countrey men. And for that cause could as ill beare then Alexanders crueltie, as in times past Bessus Treason. By this meanes when feare of death was put into their heades, they

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were easily stirred to armes, which before were sufficiently enclined of their owne minds. Whē Alexander was aduertised of their doyngs, hee willed Craterus to besiege Ciropolis. And hee himselfe wanne another city of that countrey by an assault that he gaue to it on all partes at once, and by a signe giuen, caused all the children to be put to death, making the rest a praye for the souldiers. This done, the citie was razed to the ground, to the intent that others by their ensample might be kept in obedience. There was a valiant people called Memacenās, who were determined to abide the siege, not onely for their honesties sake, but also for that they thought it most meete for their suretie. For the mitigating of whose wilfulnesse, the king sent to them fiftie horsmen to declare his clemencie towards such as submitted themselues, and how inexorable he was to such as he wanne by force. Their answer was, that they neither doubted of the kings promise, nor of his power: but after their answere giuen, they lodged them without their walles, where as entertainyng them with great cheere till it was the deepe of the night, they set vpon them, and slew them all. Alexander was no lesse moued with this matter, then the case required, but made an assault vnto ẏ citie on all partes at once, which he foūd furnished in such wise, that he could not take it at ẏ first attempt. Wherfore he appointed Peleager and Perdicas to the siege thereof, which

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then were besieging of Ciropolis, mindyng to spare the same, because it was builded by Cyrus. For he had not so great admiration of any king that had reigned in those partes, as of him, & Semiramis: whose magnanimitie of minde, and fame of her actes, seemed to him to exceede all the rest: But the obstinate wilfulnes of the inhabitants, stirred vp his wrath. For when he had taken the citie, he willed the Macedons to spoile it, which had great cause to be moued against them, and so returned againe to Meleager and Perdicas. There was not one city that did more valiantly abide the siege, then the same did: for both the hardiest of the souldiers were slaine, and the king was brought in great daunger, being striken in the necke with a stone, so that his sight failed him, and was felled to the earth, so that he lost his sense. The army lamented, thinking he had bene dead, but he was inuincible against those things, which put other men most in feare. For without tarying, hee dressed his wound, returning to the fight, and after anger had stirred vp the egernes he had of nature, he renued the assault againe more fiercely then before. At length, a great piece of the wall was ouerthrowen by a mine, at the which he brake in, and put the whole city to sacke and to ruine. He sent from thence Menedemus w̄ iij. M. fotemen, and viij. hundred horsemen, to the city of Maracanda, which Spitamenes had newly taken, and put from thence the garrison

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of the Macedons: Yet the citizens were not of this opinion, but when they saw they could not withstand him, it was of necessitie for them to agree to his will. Alexander in the meane season came to the riuer of Tanais, where he enclosed about with a wall so much ground as his camp did conteine, extending in compasse 12. furlongs, and named the same citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedition, that with in seuentæne dayes after the walles were vp, the houses also were builded. And the whole was perfourmed in a very smal season, through the contention amongst ỹ souldiers, who should perfourme his worke first, when the same was deuided into portions amongst them. Their prisoners (whose ransoms Alexander paid to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this Citie. The discent of whom, after so long tyme, are not yet worne out, such fauor hath bene shewed to them, in the memory of Alexander. The king of Scithia, whose Empire was then beyond the riuer of Tanais, iudging that the fortifiyng vpon the riuers side, should be as a yoke to his necke, sent his brother Carcasis with a great power of horsemen to defeate the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedones from the waters side. That Riuer deuideth the Bactrians from the Scithians of Europe, and is the limite which parteth Asia and Europe asunder. But the countries that the Scithes inhabite, stretch as farre as Thracia, and lie betwixt

betweene the North and the East: ioining with Sarmatia, and possessing part of it. The countrey also that lieth beyond the riuer of Ister is inhabited by thē, their vttermost bounds stretching to Bactria, and to the further boundes of Asia northwards, where as be wonderful great woods and wilde deserts. But such of them as bounded nære vnto Tanais and Bactria, lacked not much the ciuilitie of other nations. This being the first time that Alexander had to doe with these people, when he sawe that then he had to enter into a warre, for the which he was not prouided, his enemies riding vp and downe in his sight, and he diseased of his wound, specially not hauing the vse of his speach, which failed much by reason of his long abstinence, and the paine in his necke: called his friends to coūcell, and declared vnto them that he was not troubled with any feare of his enemies, but with the iniquitie of the tyme, the Bactrians rebelling, and the Scithians prouokyng him, when neither he was able to stand vpon the ground, strong enough to ride on horsebacke, or in case to giue aduise or exhortation to his men. In consideration therefore of the doubtfull danger he saw himselfe wrapt in, he accused ỳ gods, complaining ỳ he was thē inforced to lie still as a stocke, whose swiftnes before time none was able to escape. The matters grew so great, that his owne men beléeued hæ had counterfeited his sickenesse for feare. And therefore he which

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since the ouerthrow of Darius had left consultation with the deuiners and prophets, turned himselfe againe to the vanitie and superstition of man, willing Aristander (to whome he was addicted in beliefe) that he should try out by sacrifice what his successe should be. The custome of them which were called Aruspices, was to consider the intrailes of the beastes without the king, and to make report to him of their signification. In the meane season whiles they were searching secrets that way, he willed Ephestion, Craterus, Erigius and other his friends to draw neere about him, least by straining of his voyce, he might breake out his wound agayne, and said thus vnto them:

The danger I am in, hath caused the tyme to serue better for mine enemies, then for me: necessitie I see chiefly in the warres to goe before reason. For it is seldome giuen to men to chuse their owne tyme. The Bactrians be reuolted, vpon whose shoulders yet wee stand, purposing to try what courage we be of, by our behauiour towardes the Scithians. If we leaue of with doubtfull fortune, and meddle not with them, which of their owne mindes haue prouoked vs: wee shall at our returne be had in contempt of them whom we entend to visite. But if we shall passe the riuer of Tanais, and by the destruction of the Scithians, and shedding of their blood, shew our selues inuincible euery where, who wil then doubt but that Europe wil lie open, and giue obedience to vs being victorers? hee is deceiued that doeth measure by any distaunce the bounds of the glory we intend to passe. There is but one riuer that letteth vs now for bringyng of our power ouer into Europe, which if we shall bryng to passe, what an estimation shall it be for vs whiles wee be subduing of Asia, to set vp the monumentes of our victories as it were in a new world, ioyning so farre together

together with one victory the thing that nature seemeth to haue deuided with so great distance: but if we shall stay neuer so litle and giue ground, the Scithiãs will then come after vs, and pursue vs in the taile. Be there no more but we that haue passed riuers: there be many inuentions yet remaining amongest our selues, whereby we haue gotten victories. But fortune of the warre doth teach pollicie to such as be ouercome: we haue shewed a president of late how to swimme ouer bottles: which thing if the Scithians cannot doe, the Bactrians shal teach them. It is but the power of one nation that now commeth against you, all the other yet stand in a stay to vnderstand of our doyngs. So that by eschewing battell, we shal nourish warre, & be compelled to receiue those blowes which lie in vs to giue to other. The reason of my aduice is manifest. But whether the Macedones will suffer me to vse myne owne disposition I doubt, because that since I receiued this wound, I haue not ridden on horsbacke, nor gone on foote. If you wil folow me my frieds, I am whole: I gaue them strength enough to endure these things. And if the ende of my life be at hand, wherein can I spend it better?

These wordes that he spake, were vttered with a broken and weake voyce, so that they could scarcely be heard of such as were nere him. But when his meanyng was perceiued, all that were present went about to fray him from so rash an enterprise. But Erigius wrought chiefly in the matter, which perceiuyng that his authoritie could not preuayle against the kings obstinate minde, attempted to worke him by religiõ, which he iudged of greater force. For he declared that the gods were against his determination, which had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the Riuer. He

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saide he had vnderstoodthat thing by Aristander, who told him at his comming into the pauilion what he had perceiued in the beastes intrailes. Alexander vpon his wordes was wonderfully troubled both with anger and shame, when hee saw the secrets of the religion brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secret to himselfe, and therefore caused Erigius to goe aside, and Aristander to be called in vnto him, whom he beheld in the face, and said,

I seeme to thee rather a priuate man then a king: I commanded thee to make sacrifice, and thou hast declared the signification thereof to other, and not to me. For Erigius by the report knoweth ỳ priuities pertaining to me: But sure I iudge, that through his owne feare, he deuised an interpretation of himselfe. Therefore let me heare of thine owne mouth, what thou hast found in the intrails, to the intent thou shalt not deny that thou hast spoken.

Aristander thereupon was amazed and looked pale, not able to answer one word for feare. But at length the same feare that made him hold his peace, pricked him forwards to speake, least the prolonging of the kinges expectation myght prouoke him to further wrath, answered:

I sayd (quoth he) there was in the enterprise great daunger and difficultie: but yet that your attempt should not be in vaine. There is nothyng that I haue perceiued by my science troubleth me so much, as the loue I bare to you wardes: for I both consider your infirmitie, and what a moment consisteth in your owne person, fearyng you should not bee able to endure the thinges that fortune is disposed to giue vnto you.

When

When Alexander heard him speake after that maner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whom fortune had granted glory in greater thinges, and thereupon dismissed him: Afterwardes as the king was debating with such as he cõsulted with before, by what means he should passe the riuer: Aristander came amongst them, affirming that he had found the intrailes contrary to that he did before, with as likely signes of good successe, as any that euer he sawe, shewing them as great causes to reioyce, as he did before to feare. But immediatly hereupon, Alexander receiued newes that much appaired the continuall felicitie he was wont to haue in all his proceedings. Menedemus beyng sent (as it hath bene said before) to besiege Spitamenes, the author of the Bactrians rebellion: When he vnderstood of his enemies commyng, both in auoiding to be enclosed within walles, and trusting besides to take some aduantage of the Macedons, laid an embushment to entrappe them. There was a wode through the which they should passe very apt for ỹ purpose, where he laid the Dahans, whose custome was to cary two armed men vpon one horse, from whence they vsed to leape downe by course. And by reason the swiftnesse of the footemen was litle inferiour to the horsemen, they troubled greatly the order of the horsemens fight. Spitamenes gaue order to them, that when their enemies should enter into the wood, they should enuiron them

them on all sides, which when they perfoꝛmed accoꝛding to their appointment: Menedemus seeing himselfe enclosed on all partes, and not equall in number vnto his enemies, resisted a great while, crying out to the souldiours, that there remained no hope to them being intrapt after that maner, but by making slaughter vpō their enemies to receiue the comfoꝛt of an honest death. Menedemus rode vpon a strong hoꝛse, charging oft tymes vpon his enemies, whereby he bꝛake their oꝛder, and made great slaughter, till such tyme that he being laied at on all partes, receiued many wounds, and fainted foꝛ want of bloud. Then he exhoꝛted Hispides that was one of his friendes, to leape vpon his hoꝛse and escape away, and with that woꝛd he swounded and fell to the ground from his hoꝛse. Hispides might haue got away, but after he had lost his friend, determined there to dye, taking no other care but how to spend his lyfe without losse of his enimies. Wheꝛefoꝛe he put his spurres to his hoꝛse, and ran in amongst thē, where he fought notably, and at length was slaine. When the rest saw this ouerthꝛow, and losse of their captaine, they recouered an hill where Spitamenes did besiege them, thinkyng to subdue them foꝛ want of vitaile. There were slaine in the battel 2000. foꝛtemen, & 300. hoꝛsmen, Which misaduenture Alexander wō great pollicy kept secret, commanding them that departed from the field, vnder paine of death not

to publish this matter abroad. But when hée could not beare it out any longer, to shew a coũtenance contrary to his heart, he went alone to his pauilion which he had set of purpose vpon the riuers side. There he waked all the night, deuising with himselfe what he was best to do. And diuers tymes he lifted vp his tent to behold the fires in his enemies campe, thereby to coniecture their number. When the day appeared, he put on a corselet, and came forth amongest the souldiers, beyng the first tyme they had sene him since he receiued his hurt. They bare such a veneration vnto their king, that with his presence onely, they put away the remembrance of the feare which caused them before to shrinke, and reioiced so hartily, that when they saluted him, the teares distilled from their eyes, & earnestly required the fight, which before they had refused. He toke order there amongst thẽ that the horsemen, and such as were of the square battell of footemen, should bee caried ouer in boates, and that the light armed should swim vpon bottles. Neither the matter required any more to be spoken, nor the king coulde not say much more by reason of his infirmitie. For the souldiers went about the matter with such good will and cheerefulnes of mind, that within three dayes they had finished xy. M. boates. When all things were prepared in readines for their passage, there came xx. embassadours of the Scithians, riding by the campe, which required that

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it might be declared vnto ỹ king that they had matter in commissiō to declare vnto him. Whē they were receiued into his pauilion, and commanded to sit downe, they fired their loke continually vpon the kings countenance, whereby it was thought, that waying the greatnesse of his courage by his personage that they saw present, it appeared to them but small in respect of the same they heard of him. The wits of ỹ Scithians be not rude and without knowledge, as other barbarous people be. For it is sayde that many of them attaine to such learning as is possible for a nation being alwayes in exercise of ỹ warres. Whose wordes spoken vnto Alexander be left in memory: which though they differ frō the maner of vs that happened in more ciuill tymes, and framed our selues to a more humanitie: yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their speach be not allowed. And therfore I shal declare vncorruptly the sayings which the eldest of those embassadors did speake after this maner.

If the gods had giuē thee a body according to the vnsatiable desire of thy mind, the world should not be able to receiue thee, but shouldst touch the Orient with one hand, & the Occidēt with the other: which thing once obteined, thy care should be to become equal to ỹ gods. Thus thou doest couet the thing thou art not able to compasse. Frō Europe thou goest into Asia, & frō Asia passest into Europe. It must come to passe that if thou ouercome al mākind, thou must keepe war with woods & snowes, with riuers & wild beastes. What? art thou ignorant that trees doe growe till they be great, and then be plucked vp from the rote in a moment? He is

a fole that doth couet the fruit, and considereth not the heigth of the træ whereon it groweth. Take hæd lest whiles thou doest labour to attaine to the toppe, thou fallest with the boughes which thou doest imbrace. The Lion hath bene sometime the fode of smal birds, and the rust doth consume the iron. There is nothyng so sure, that is not in dãger of his inferior. What haue we to doe with thæ? We neuer touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the waste woodes to be ignorant what thou art, and from whence thou commest? we can neither be subiect to any man, nor desire to rule ouer any creature. And because ye shall not be ignorant of the state of our nation, we haue certaine gifts in proper vnto vs, the yoke of Oxen, the plough, the speare, the bowe, and the bolle, which bee the things that we vse both with our friends, and against our enemies. We doe giue vnto friends of the fruits gotten with our labour. With the bolle we sacrifice wine vnto the gods. With the bowe wee strike our enemies a farre off, and with the speare nære at hand. After that sort we in tymes past ouercame the king of Scithia, and afterwards the king of Persia & Media, making the way open to vs into Egypt. But thou which doest glory, that art come to be a persecuter of thæues, art a robber of all nations that thou cõmest amongst. Thou hast taken Lidia, possessed Syria enioyed Persia, & hast the Bactrians vnder thy power. Thou doest visite the Indians, and now stretchest forth thy rauenous handes vnto our cattell. Why doest thou couet that riches that causeth thæ to be poore? Thou art the first of all men which with aboundance hast prepared thy selfe hunger, and that with the more thou hast, the more grædy thou doest couet the things thou hast not. Doest thou not remember how long thou hast sticked about Bactria. And whiles thou goest about to subdue them, how the Sogdians begin to rebell? Thus warre doth growe vnto thæ of thy victory. For be thou neuer so great and puissant aboue any other, yet there be none that can endure to bee gouerned by Strangers. Passe now Tanais, thou shalt perceiue what breadth it beareth, and yet thou shalt neuer ouertake the Scithians, whose pouerty is swif-

ter then thy army, carying the ſpoile of ſo many nations. For when thou ſhalt thinke vs to be far of, thou ſhalt ſee vs within thy campe: With like ſwiftneſſe we follow and flie away. I heare that our deſertes be ſtorned by the Græke prouerbs, we couet rather thoſe deſertes & places vnhabited, then Cities & plentifull countries. Therfore hold thou thy fortune faſt: for ſhe is ſlipper and cannot be kept againſt her will. Folow thou the counſel that is good, ſpecially whiles the time doeth ſerue. But a bridle to thy felicitie, and thou ſhalt gouerne it the better. We ſay that fortune is without feete, and that ſhe hath onely handes and winges: but when ſhe putteth forth her hand, ſhe will not ſuffer her winges to be touched. If thou be a god, then giue beneſites vnto mortall men, and take not away the commodities they haue already. If thou be a man, conſider alway thine owne eſtate. It is folliſh to remember thoſe thinges, which cauſe thee to forget thy ſelfe. Such as by warre thou makeſt thy enemies, by peace thou mayeſt make them thy very friendes. The moſt firme friendſhip is amongſt them that be equall, and they ſeeme equall, which haue not yet made any triall of their force. Take hede thou take them not for thy friends, whom thou diddeſt ſubdue and bring to ſubiection. There is no friendſhip betweene the Lord and the ſlaue: and in peace the lawe of armes is obſerued. Thinke not that the Scithians do confirm their frēdſhip with any othe. For they thinke they ſweare in keping of their fayth. The cuſtome of the Grækes is to iuſtifie their doings by callyng their gods to witnes: But we acknowledge religion to conſiſt in the fayth it ſelfe. They which doe not their due reuerence to men, deceiue the gods. Thinke not thoſe friendes to be neceſſary vnto thee, of whoſe good will thou ſhalt nede to doubt. Thou mayeſt vſe vs as keepers both of Europe and Aſia, for we ſhould ioyne with Bactria, but that Tanais doth deuide vs, and beyond Tanais our dominion ſtretcheth as farre as Thracia, and the ſame is that Thracia confineth with Macedone. Conſider therefore, whether it be neceſſary for thee or no, to haue vs as friends or foes to both thine Empires.

These were the Scithians wordes, to whom the king made answer:

That he would both vse his owne fortune, & their counsell which aduised him well. He would follow his fortune (he said) because he had great confidence in it, and other mens counsell, because he would do nothing rashly, nor vpon a sodaine.

Thereupon he dimissed the Embassadors, and enbarked his army in the boates he had prepared. In the forepartes of the boates he set such as had targets, willyng them to kneele vpon their knées for their more sauegard agaynst the shotte of arrowes. And they were placed behinde them that had the charge of the Engines, who before and on both sides were enclosed with armed men. The rest that stode beyond the Engines beyng armed themselues, defended with targets such as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boates that caried ouer the horsemen. The more part drewe their horses after them by the reines, swimming at the boates tayle, and such as were caried vpon trusses filled with strawe, were defended by the boates that rowed betwirt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to bee about his person, first launched from the land, and directed his course towardes the further side. The Scithians came agaynst them with their horsemen in order of battaile, standyng vppon the brinke of the further shoare to let their landyng: whose shew beyng a terrour to the Macedones, they had

had also another cause of feare in their passyng ouer, for the boate-masters were not able to keepe their course agaynst the force of the Streame. And the souldiours swaying to and fro, for the doubte that they had to fall into the Water, troubled the Mariners in doyng of their office.

By reason whereof, the Macedones could not haue scape to cast their Dartes with any force, takyng more care how to place themselues out of perill, then for to annoy their enemies. Their Engines stode them in great steade, which seldome did shote in vayne against their enemies that stode thicke before them, profering to resist their landyng. When the Scithians sawe them neere the shoare, they did shote an infinite number of arrowes into the boates, so that there was not in maner any target that had not many heads stickyng in it. At length the boates arriued at the land, then the target men did rise vpon their feete, and hauyng more scope and sure footyng, threw their dartes more certainely, and with greater force, whereby perceiuyng their enemies to shrinke, and reyne backe their horses, they then leaped chearefully vnto the lande, one exhortyng and encouraging an other, and freely pursued them, whome they sawe fall out of araye. By that tyme Alexanders horsemen which had assembled themselues in troupes, brake vppon their enemies, and put them to great disorder

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In the meane season the rest beyng defended by them that were fighting, landed and prepared themselues to the battell. For Alexander letted not with stoutnesse of courage to supply the impotencie of his body. His voyce could not be heard, when he spake and exhorted his men (the scarre of his wound not yet closed) but all men might see him fighting. Wherefore euery one vsed the office of a capitaine in giuing exhortation vnto his fellowes, and ranne vpon their enemies without respect of their owne lyues. When the Scithians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the crie of their enemies, but beyng all on horsebacke, fled away vpon the spurres: Whome the king pursued 80. furlonges, notwithstanding that with great paine he endured his infirmitie. When his heart fainted, he commaunded his men that they should follow still in the chase so long as the day lasted: and not hauyng strength to sustaine any further trauaile, returned into his campe to rest hymselfe. The Macedones in their pursuit passed the boundes of Bacchus. In monument of whome, there were great stones set vp by equall distaunce, and high trees whose stockes were couered ouer with Iuy. But no boundes coulde bee a staye to the Macedones beyng caried forwardes in their fury: for it was midnight before they returned againe to their campe, who hauyng killed many, and take a great number of prisoners, did driue

before

before them a thousand eight hundred horses. There were slain of the Macedons lx. horsmen: of the footmen to the point of one hundred, and a thousand of them were hurte. This enterprise with the fame of the victorie falling in so good a season, kept the more part of Asia in obediēce, which was at the point to haue rebelled. For they beleæued that the Scithians were inuincible: Who being vanquished, they iudged no nations able to withstand the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therfore after this victorie sent their Embassadors vnto Alexander, offering themselues to come vnder his obedience. To the doing whereof they were not so greatly moued with feare of his force, as they were w̄ report of the clemencie hee vsed towardes the Scithians after he had discomfited them. For he deliuered home all their prisoners without raunsome, to witnes to the world that he made warre with those fierce nations to shew his power and his vertue, and not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vpon them. That was the cause that he so gently receiued the Embassadors of the Sacans: causing Excipimus to accompany them: who being a beautifull young man in the first flower of his youth, was in that respect in great fauour and familiaritie with Alexander. In personage he was like Ephestion: but inferiour to him in pleasauntnes of speech. After this, Alexander giuing order to Craterus to followe him by smal iourneys with the greater

ter part of his army, he himselfe came to the Citie of Maracanda, from whence Spitamines that heard of his comming, was fled into Bactria. The king therefore making great iourneis foure daies continually, came into the place, whereas vnder the conduct of Menedemus hee had lost vj.M. footmen, & iij.C. horsemen. Whose bones he caused to be gathered togither, celebrating their funeralles after his countrey maner. By that time Craterus with the Phalanx was come vnto the king: and to the intent he might punish with the sword all such as had rebelled: hee deuided his power into diuers partes, commaunding them to burne in euery place where they went, and to kil all the children. The countrey of the Sogdians for the more part is wast, by reason of the great desertes that stretch ouerthwart the countrey. The Riuer called Politemetum passed in manner through the length of it, which runneth a space violently in a narrow chanell, and then is receiued into a hole of the earth, from whence it goeth vnderneath the ground: whose course is manifest by the noyse of water that may be heard. And yet on all the ground vnder the which so great a Riuer doth run, there doth not appeare any moysture put forth. Of the captiues that were taken amongst the Sogdians, there were 30. of the most noble brought vnto Alexander: which vnderstanding by an interpretour, that by the kinges commandement they shoulde bee put to execution, began

gan as men in myth to sing and daunce, and by a certeine lasciuious motion of their bodies, expressed a great ioyfulnesse of the minde. Alexander marueiling that they toke their death with such stoutnes and magnanimitie of heart, called them vnto him, enquiring why thei shewed so great a gladnes, when they had death before their face. They answered that if they had bëne put to death by any, sauing by such a one as he was, they should haue taken their death sorowfully. But nowe seeing they should be restored to their predecessors by a king that was a conqueror of all nations, they reioiced in their honest death, as the thing that all men shoulde wish and desyre. The king then marueiling at their magnanimitie: I enquire of you (qd hee) if you can be content to liue, and become frends to him, by whose benefite you shall receiue life: they said, that as they were neuer his enemies but as they were prouoked by occasiõ of ẏ wars euen so, if he would make an experiment of thẽ, rather by a benefit, then an iniurie, they would labour not to bee ouercome in good will, nor in doing the thing that pertained to their duetie. They were asked what pledge they would laye of their promise. They said, their liues they had receiued should be their pledge ready to be yelded againe, when it were required. Therin they brake no promise: for such of them as were returned home into their countrey, kept the people in good obedience: and foure of them that

were

were appointed to be of the kinges garde, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towardes their Prince. When he had ordred all thinges amongst the Sogdians, he left Peucolaus there with three thousand men of warre, and remoued into Bactria: from whence hee commaunded Bessus to be caryed to Echatan, there to suffer death for the killing of Darius. About the same time Ptholomeus and Menidas brought three thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen of mercenary souldiers: and one Aleander came to him out of Licia with three thousand fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, Asclepeodorus had leuyed the like number out of Siria. Antipater sent eight thousand Greeks amongst whome there were fiue hundred horsemen. When hee had thus increased his army w̄ the supply of his newe power, he went about in euery place to quiet those stirres that had bene raised vp by the rebellion. And hauing slaine them that were the authours & beginners therof, the fourth day came to the Riuer of Drus, which being a water vnwholesome to be drunk (because it is euer troubled and full of mud) the Macedons fell to digging of welles: And when by digging deepe they could finde no water, a spring sodeinly appeered in ỹ kinges tent, which because it was not found at the first, they fained it to come by some miracle. Therwith the king was pleased, and contented men shoulde beleeue that the same was sent by the gift of God.

When

When he passed the Riuers of Oxus and Dr-
us, they came vnto a citie called Margiana, nære
vnto the which hee chose out places for the buil-
ding of sixe Townes: whereof he planted two
towardes the South, and foure towardes the
East: euerie one distant a small space from an-
other, to the intent that their mutual assistance
in time of næde should not be far to sæke. They
were all situate vpon high hilles, as bridelles to
kæpe vnder those wilde nations. But now they
haue forgotten their originall, and bee subiect to
those they were wont to rule. The king hauing
subdued all the rest, one rocke onely remayned,
which Arimazes a Sogdian had taken with xxx
thousand armed men, and furnished the same of
victuals for two yæres. The same Rocke was
thirtie furlonges in height, and a hundred fiftie
about, being in all partes stæpe and broken, ha-
uing one streight path onely to passe vnto it. In
the middle way to the top it hath a caue, which
was narrow and darke in the entry: but by ly-
tle and litle it wared wider, and had more large
lodgings within for a great multitude, and was
besides so ful of springs, that when they met to-
gither, they ranne down the Rocke lyke a great
Riuer. Alexander beholding the strength of thys
place, and the difficultie to winne it, determined
to depart from thence. But there entred sodein-
ly into his hart a desire to wearie nature, and
worke against her power. Yet before he would
attempt the fortune of any siege, he sent Cophes
the

the son of Artabazus, to perswade them to giue it ouer. Arimazes vppon an assured trust of the strength of the place, aunswered in al things arrogantly, but specially in that he asked if Alexander could flie: Which words reported to the king, did put him in such a fury, ỹ streightways he called for such as he vsed to consulte withall, declaring the pride & presumption of Arimazes, and after what maner he had scorned him. But shortly (he saide) he would deuise such a pollicie, that he would make him thinke the Macedons had winges. Hee requyred them therefore ỹ out of the whole armye they would chose out and bring to him three C. of the moste light young men which had bẽn accustomed to driue beasts amongst the rockes and streight pathes of the mountaines: whereupon they brought such to the king, as both for lightnes of bodie, and hardines of hart were most meet for such a purpose: vnto whom he said.

My fellowes that bee of mine owne age, with you haue I wonne Cities that were inexpugnable, and haue passed the toppes of mountaines coucred continually with snowe. With you I haue gone through the streights of Cilicia, and haue without wearinesse sustained the violence of the colde: wherby I haue experience of you, & you of me. The rocke which you see hath but one entrie, which our enemies do obserue, the rest they neglect. They kẽpe no watch but towardes our campe. If you diligently search, you shall finde some way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may bee attained vnto by the industrie of manne. In putting things in proofe, whereof other haue dispeired, we haue gotten Asia into our possession. Deuise you the meanes to gette vp

into

into the top, which when you haue taken, you shal giue a token to me by setting vp of some white cloth. You shall see mee then come forwards with my power, and turne the enemies from you towards me. He shal haue ten talents for a reward that doth recouer the top first, and he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shall be obserued with ten of the first. I am assured that you regarde not so much my liberalitie, as my fauour.

When they had heard the king speake after that maner, they imagined the thing won, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes and yron hookes which they might fasten to the Rockes, and so clymbe vp. The king brought them about the Rocke, where as it seemed least steepe and moste plaine to mount vppon, and in the seconde watch wylled them to passe forwardes wyth good spede. They beeing furnyshed wyth twoo dayes victualles, and armed onely with swords and speares, at ỹ first wente forwardes without anye great difficultie. But when they came to the steepenesse of the Rocke, some tooke holde of the broken cragges to lyft vp themselues, and some fastening their hookes on the Rockes, did clymbe vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest, and stay diuers times, and so consumed the day in trauaile and in feare. When they had passed manye diffycult places, further difficulties alwayes appeered, the height of the rocke seeming to growe moze and moze. When they fayled eyther of their holde, oz of their footing, it was a miserable thing to see howe they fell

fell downe headlong, shewing to the other by their misfortune an example what was likelye to come of them. Notwithstanding at length through all these difficulties they got vp vnto ẏ top, where they all wearied with the trauaile of their cõtinuall labour, & some with the hurts and maymes they had receiued, slept there all that night amongst the wilde and rough rocks, vnmindfull of the perill they were in. When it was day they wakened out of their dead sleepe, and beholding the valleyes vnderneath them, were ignorant in what parte of the Rocke so great a multitude of their enemies shoulde lye. But at length when they perceiued by ẏ smoke in what place they were, they vpon the poynts of 2. spears set vp the signe ẏ was appointed thẽ, & found then in their cõming vp they had lost of their nũber xxxy. The king being careful, not so much for the desire he had to win the Rocke, as for to saue those whome he had sent to so manifest a daunger, stood all day beholding the top of the mountaine. And when darknes of the night toke away the prospect of the eyes, he departed to refresh his bodie. The nert day before it was full light, he perceiued the white cloth set vp in the top of the rocke: but the varietie of the aire, and the sunne beginning to appeare, and yet hid caused him to doubt a while whether his sight had fayled him or not. But when it was ful and open day, it appeared manifestly, and all doubt was remoued. Then he called Cophes, by whõ

he

he had attempted their minds before, willing him once againe to exhort them to be better aduised. And if so be that in trust of their strength they would not submit themselues, that then he would shew to them the men that had taken ỹ Rocke ouer their heades. When Cophes came thither, he began to perswade Armazes to giue vp his strength, thereby to winne the kings fauour, and not enforce Alexander to stay in the siege of a Rocke, hauing so manye weighty affayres in hande: But he found him more obstinate and proud then he did before, and willed Cophes to depart and moue him no more in the matter. Then he toke Arimazes by the hande, and requyred him to go with him out of ỹ caue. When they were come whereas they might loke about, he shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the cragge, and scorning then his pryde, asked of him whether Alexanders souldiers had gotten wings or no. By that time the Trumpets were blowne in the Macedons campe, and they might heare the alarme that was made in the army: which matter as many vaine and trifling thinges are wont in the warres to grow to great effect: so that was the cause that they yelded themselues. For feare so troubled them that they could not consider the small number that were ouer their heades, but called Cophes againe in great haste, who was departed away, and sent with him vnto Alexander 3 of ỹ chiefe men authorised to yeld vp the

Rocke, with composition for to departe in saue-garde. But Alexander notwithstanding that he doubted least his enemies discouering the fewnes of his men, might put them to distresse: yet trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and offended with the pryde of Arimazes, would agree to no condition, but that they should yelde simply. Arimazes thereupon dispayring more of his estate, then he had cause, descended down to the campe, with the chiefest of the nation that were of kinne to him. All the which Alexander caused to be scourged with roddes, and be crucified at the foot of the Rocke. The multitude that yelded, with the money that there was taken, were giuen in gift to the inhabiters of the new Cities. And the rule of the saide Rocke was committed to Arbazus, with the charge of the countrey therabout.

¶ THE EYGHT BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.

ALexander hauing woonne thys Rocke with greater fame then glorie, because his enemies remained in no place certeine, it was necessary for him to seperate his power, and so deuyded his army in to 3. partes. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, and toke the thirde parte vnto himselfe. His enemies were not all of one opinion: for some of them seeing their defence could not auaile, yelded themselues before the fight, to whome hee gaue the Cities, and the landes of those that continued still his enemies. But the outlawes of Bactria with eight hundred horsemen wasted the villages of the Mallagets. For the redresse whereof Attinas gouernour of that countrey, wente against them with three hundred horsemen, not knowing that his enemies laye in wayte for him: which laying their embushement in a wood adioyning to a great plaine, had appointed a certeine to driue cattell, thereby to draw their enemies with greedines of the pray within daunger of the embushment.

When Attinas men saw the dryuers of the cattell, they pursued them without order: so that when they were passed the wood where the embushment lay, their enemies brake out vppon them (casting no such perilles) and slewe them euery one. The fame of this ouerthrowe came immediatly vnto Craterus, which drew thither with the horsemen. But the Massagetes bæing fled before his commiug, he slewe a thousand of the Dahans that toke their part: whereby the rebellion of the whole countrey ceased. Thus Alexander hauing subdued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda, whither Berdes (whom he had sent to the Scithiãs inhabiting about Bolphorus) came to him with Embassadors of that countrey. Phrataphernes also that had ỹ chiefe rule of the Massagetes and Dahans (which nations were ioined by affinitie togither) sent certeine messengers to Alexander, offering to be at his commaundement. The Scithian Embassadors made request that Alexander would marie their kinges daughter: and if the affinitie pleased him, that he would suffer the Princes of the Macedons to enter in mariage likewise with ỹ noble mens daughters of their countrey: promising that the king shoulde come in person to site him. He heard gently both the Embassages, and still continued in that place, till Ephestion and Artabazus came vnto him: and then ioyning his power againe togither, came into the countrey that is called Bazaria.

There

There is nothing more esteemed in that nation then to haue great heardes of wylde beastes enclosed in Parkes, which be verie pleasaunt and full of springs. Those Parkes be enclosed wyth walles, and towers builded within them, to bee lodges for the hunters. There was one Parke in that countrey that had remained vnhunted during the time of foure mens ages: Wherin Alexander entered with his whole army, chasing the wilde beastes in euery quarter. Amongest the rest there was a Lyon of rare bignesse that came running towards Alexander. Which thing when Lisimachus (that afterwards was king, standing by chaunce then nert to Alexander) perceiued, he stepped before him, to receiue the Lyon with his hunting speare. But Alexander plucked him, and willed him to auoide, saying, that hee was able to kill a Lyon as well as Lisimachus. This Lisimachus on a time hunting in Siria, killed by himselfe alone a huge Lion. But yet he was torne to the bones vnder his left shoulder, and put in great daunger of his life. Which beeing the matter that Alexander meant, he performed with that worde no lesse then he promised: for hee did not onely receiue the Lyon, but kylled him with one stroke. There-upon the fable did rise, howe Alexander should cast Lisimachus to a Lyon. But though Alexanders chaunce was good herein: yet the Macedons knewe that by the custome of his countrey hee shoulde not haue hunted on foote,

without the chiefest of his nobilitie and frendes about him. He killed in that Parke foure thousand wylde beastes, and there did banquet his armie, returning afterwardes to Maracanda. Artabazus excusing himselfe there by his age, that he was vnapt for the rule of that country: Alexãder committed the same to Clytus, being the manne that defended him with his Target when he was fighting bare headed at the Ryuer of Granike, and there cut of with his sword Rhosaceris hande, that was in a readinesse to strike the king. He was an olde souldier of Philip his Father, and notable by many feates of warre that hee had donne. Hellanice his sister was Alexanders Nurse, whom he loued no lesse then his owne mother. For these causes he committed the strongest part of his Empire to hys fidelitie. The king that purposed to set forward his iourney the next daye, made that night a solempne banquet: wherein (beeing ouer great an aduaunter of himselfe) when he was chafed with drinking, hee began to set forth the actes that he had donne, in such sort that his wordes offended the eares of such as knewe them to be true. The auncient men kepte silence, till such time as he began to deface the doinges of Philip his Father, aduaunting the noble victorye of Cheronese to be his deede: the glorie whereof he saide, was taken from him by the malyce and enuy of his Father. For he alledged how in the mutinie which rose betweene the Macedons

and

and the Grēeke ſouldiers, when Philip laye hurt of a wounde which he receyued at a fraye, thought himſelfe ſure no otherwiſe then to coũterfeite to be dead: When he defended his body with his buckler, and ſlew them with his owne hande that ranne vppon his Father to haue killed him. Which acte (hee ſaide) his Father would neuer gladly confeſſe: nor neuer coulde abide once to acknowledge his ſafegard to come by his Sonne. Hee alſo declared howe after the iourney hee made by himſelfe into Illiria, in writing to his Father, hee aſcrybed the victorie vnto hymſelfe, which ouerthrewe his enemies, and put them to flyght when Philippe was away. He ſaid, that in his opinion, it deſerued but ſmal commendation to make a iourney into Samothracia, whē Aſia ought to haue bēene ſpoyled and burned. For he thought no man worthie prayſe in dēede, but ſuch as doe ſo great actes, that maye exceēde all mennes credite. The young menne that were preſente, were glad to heare theſe wordes, and ſuch other lyke: but they were vngratefull vnto the auncienteſt: ſpecially for Philip his cauſe, vnder whom they had long ſerued. Then Clytus who in like caſe was not verie ſober, tourned to ſuch as ſate beneath him, rehearſing verſes of Euripides, wherof the king might rather heare the ſounde then the wordes. The effecte of them was, that the Grēekes did euill, which in the monumentes of their victoryes, did ſub-

ſcribe onely the names of their kinges, which vſurped the glory to themſelues that other men did winne by ſhedding of their bloud. Alexander therefore which iudged his wordes to haue beene worſe then they were, enquyred of ſuch as ſate nexte him, what Clytus ſaide. But when they kepte ſilence: Clytus with a louder voyce rehearſed in order Philips dooinges, and the warres he made in Greece, preferring them before anye actes done ſince that tyme. Whereupon there dyd riſe a contention betweene the young men and the olde. But the king enforcing a patience in himſelfe, when hee heard Clitus deface his praiſe, conceyued a wonderfull wrath in his mind. Yet it ſeemed ỹ he would haue bridaled his affection, if Clytus would haue made an ende of his preſumptuous talke. But when he would not ceaſe, he gaue occaſion to Alexander to be further moued. Clitus then did proceed ſo farre forth, that he durſt defend Parmenio his caſe, & preferred the victorie that Philip wonne of the Athenians, before the deſtruction of Thebes. And going further and further, not onely through dronkennes, but euen by a frowardnes of a contentious minde, at length ſaide,

If we muſt die through thee, Clytus is the firſt. For they receiue greateſt rewards of thy victorie that can moſt ſhamefully deface thy fathers memorie. The countrey of the Sogdians is giuen vnto mee, that hath ſo often rebelled: and nowe is not onely vnſubdued, but ſuch one as by no meanes can be brought to ſub-

subiection. I am placed amongst those wilde beastes, that be of such an vnciuil disposition. But I coulde passe ouer things pertaining to my selfe: if the souldiours of Philip were not despised: forgetting that if the old Atharias had not turned againe the pong mē, when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet sticked about Halicarnazus. How is it thē that Asia is conquered with these young men: But I see it is true that your vncle said in Italy; he chaunced vpon men, and you vpon women.

There was nothing that Clytus spake or did in his rashnesse, that moued more the king, then the honourable mention made of Parmenio: yet for all that he kept in his griefe, and did no more but commaunded him to auoide out of the place, and spake no other word, sauing that he said: If thou talkest a litle longer, I thinke thou wilt braid me with the sauing of his lyfe: wherof in very deed he would oftentimes proudly aduance himselfe. But notwithstanding that the king had willed him to depart, yet he taried still, and would not rise: And therefore such as sate nert him, toke him by the armes to leade him away, blaming, and giuing him erhortatiō for his better vsage. When Clytus sawe himselfe drawen forth against his will: Ire was added to his drunkennes, and declared then aloud how that he with his brest defended the kings backe: but now when the good turne was past, the very memory of his benefit was hated: and therewith layed to his charge the death of Attalus, and finally mocked the Oracle of Iupiter, whom Alexander claimed to be his father

and

and sayd that he told hym better trueth then his father did. At those wordes the king was stirred to such wrath, as he could scarcely haue borne being sober: But hauing then his senses ouercome with drinke, leaped sodainly from the table. His friendes were amazed, which throwing downe the cuppes for haste, rose to waite the ende of the thing, they sawe him goe about in such a fury. He toke a speare out of a squiers hand, & would haue striken Clytus, ỹ was yet raging with ỹ intemperance of his tongue: But he was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdicas, who toke him in their armes, & stayed him for all his striuing: and Lisimachus and Leonatus toke away the speare. Then he called to his garde for ayde, crying out that he was taken by his next friendes, as Darius was of late, and willed the trumpet to be blowen, that the armed men might assemble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptholomeus fell downe vppon their knees, requiring him that he would not persuere in his wrath which he so sodainly had conceiued, but rather respite his displeasure, seyng that he might the nert day much better order ỹ matter. But his wrath preuailed so much that his eares were shut vp, & he ran in a fury amongst the watchemen, plucking a speare out of one of their handes, which once gotten, hæ stood in the entrie, through the which they must nædes passe that supped with him. When all the rest were come forth, Clytus came last with-

without light. And because Alexander could not discerne him, he asked what he was: but that was done so terribly, that the crueltie of the acte he went about, appeared in his voyce. But Clitus, which seeyng the king in a furie, had no respect how much he had offended hym before, aunswered that he was Clytus, which was commyng from the kinges banquet. With that worde he strake him through the body, so that he fell downe starke dead, and was all sprinkled with his bloud. Goe now quoth he, to Phillip, Parmenio, and to Attalus. Herein it may be seene that nature prouided euill in the disposition of man, which for the more parte can not consider so well thinges to come, as those that be past. For after that Alexanders ire was asswaged, and his drunkennesse past, weying aduisedly the foulenesse of the acte hee had done: he considered then ỹ though Clytus had vsed ouer much liberty in his talke, that yet he ought not to haue slaine so noble a man of warre: yea, and the sauer of hys owne lyfe, though he were ashamed to confesse it. He sawe that he being a king, had vsed the detestable office of an executioner in reuenging with wicked slaughter the liberty of wordes, which myght haue bene imputed vnto wine. When he beheld the bloud of him which a litle before he had bidden to his banquet, run ouer al the entrie, and ỹ the watchmen were so astonied & amazed, that they stode a farre of and durst not come neere:

his

his solitarines caused his repentance to bee the greater. Then he plucked the speare out of the dead corpes, and would haue thrust it through his owne body if the watchmen had not come running, and with great striuing wrung ſame out of his hands. That done, they toke him vp, and caried him into his lodging, whereas he fell downe flat vpon the ground, filling all the court full of the miserable noyse of his howling and lamentation. He tare his face with his nayles, and required such as stood about him, that they would not suffer him to liue in such a shame & dishonour. In these requestes he consumed the whole night, and caused diligent search to bee made, whether it were the ire of the gods or no, that had caused him to commit so hainous an acte. At length it was found that the yeerely sacrifice due vnto Bacchus, was not done in due tyme: And therefore it appeared manifestly, that it should be the wrath of the gods, that had moued him to commit murther vpon eatyng & drinking. But the greatest thing that encreased his sorow, was the amasement of his friendes, when he sawe them shrinke from him, and that none of them after that deed done, would gladly vse such familiar communication as they did before. Then he perceiued that he should lyue as a wilde beast in a desert, both fearing others and also afraid himselfe. The next morning he commanded the body bloudy as it was, to bee brought into his chamber, which when he sawe

lying

lying before him, fell in weeping, and said:
Shall I after this sort requite my Nurse, whose two sonnes are slaine for my glory at Miletũ, I haue now killed her brother (that was her onely ioy) at myne owne board? What refuge shall that wretched woman haue? I was all the comfort that did remaine to her, and now she shall neuer be glad to behold me. Shal I the wicked killer of my preseruers, returne into my countrey, when I shall not be able to present my hand vnto my Nurse, without the remembraunce of her miserie?

When he could put no ende to these kind of bewailings and complaints, the body was taken away by the appointment of his friendes. After he had lyen three dayes shut vp in his chãber, sorowing after this maner, the Squiers, & such as had the keeping of his person, seeyng him giuen obstinately to death, brake into his lodging, & with great payne brought him (though he long withstoode their prayers) at length to take some relieue and sustenance. And to the entent he should be the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not suffer him to be buried, but that the king commanded it. Hauyng consumed ten dayes at Maracanda, specially to confirme the shame he had conceiued of Clytus death, sent Ephestion with part of his army into Bactria to prouide vitailes against Winter: And committed the same prouince vnto Amintas, which before he had giuen to Clytus. From thence he went into a countrey called Zenippa that confineth with the Scithians, which being well

well inhabited and full of villages, doeth with the plentifulnes thereof, not onely detaine the inhabiters to dwell there still, but also inuiteth straungers to come amongest them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that still rebelled: but after Alexanders commyng was knowen, they were driuen forth by ỹ cuntreymen, and two thousand and two hundred of their horsemen assembled together, which were accustomed to liue by theft and spoyle in tyme of peace: whom not onely the warre, but also dispaire of forgiuenesse, had made more cruell, and their wilde dispositions worse. They gaue an onset sodainly vpon Amyntas, that was Darius lieutenant. The battell was long doubtful betwixt them: but finally, they lost 7. hundred of their number, wherof 3. hundred were taken prisoners, and turned their backes to the victorers, not without a reuenge: for they slew of them 4. score, besides 3. hundred and fiftie that they wounded. And yet notwithstandyng after this second rebellion, they obtained pardon. When Alexander had brought them to obedience, he came with his whole army into a countrey called Nauta, the Lord whereof was called Silimithres, who had gotten two sonnes by his owne mother, it being lawfull there for the parents to vse their children. The same Silimithres with 2000. armed men, fortified & kept the straite at the entry of the countrey where as it was most narrowe. The passage was de-

fended

fended both with a riuer and with a rocke, thorow ỹ which rocke the way was made by force of hand. The light is receiued in at the entrie: but further inward there is none, but such as men bring with them. From this Rocke there goeth a vaute vnderneath the ground, that hath issue into the fieldes, which be not knowen but to such as be of the same countrey. Though this straite was naturally strong, and defended besides by a strong power: that letted not Alexander to attempt it, but brought Engines which they call Arietes, to beate downe such fortification as was made with hand, and with slinges and shot of arrowes, did beate his enemies from the places of their defence. When he had driuen them away, he passed through the fortifications he had wonne, and made approch vnto ỹ rocke. But the streame that grew of the assemblie of waters falling from the mountaine was an impediment to him therein. It seemed a wonderfull worke to fill the chanell of the riuer: yet he caused trees and stones to be brought to ỹ place, & set the thing in hand. When his enemies that neuer had seene any such worke before, saw the worke rise sodainly like a mountain, they were put in a marueious feare, which the king supposing they might haue bene brought to render it vp: sent one Oriartes of the same nation, to perswade Smithes to render the rocke. And in the meane season to put them in more terrour, he caused towers of wood to bee brought forwards,

forwards, and did shote with engines so out of the same, that the enemies forsaking all other strengths, retired into the top of the rocke. Oriartes finding Sisimithres in this feare, perswaded him rather to proue Alexanders beneuolence, then his force, and seeing al creatures submitted thẽselues vnto him, that he onely should not be his let, goyng with his victorious army into India, whereby he should turne other mẽs plagues vpon his owne necke. Sisimithres would haue bene contented to folow his aduise, but that she which was both his mother and his wife, affirmed how she would rather dye, then commit her selfe into any mans hand: And therefore beyng ashamed that the loue of libertie should remaine more in a woman, then in him beyng a man, altered his purpose, takyng that way which was more honest then sure, and dimissed him that was the meane for peace, determining vtterly to abide the extremitie of the siege: Yet when he had weighed well his enemies power and his owne togethers, began againe to repent him of his wiues counsell, as of a deuise more rash then profitable, & made suite that Oriartes would returne, profering then to commit himselfe to the kings will, onely requiring of Oriartes that he would not vtter his wiues minde and opinion, for feare least she should not obtaine her pardon. He sent therefore Oriartes before, and he came after with his wife, his children, and all his kinsfolke, without

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tarying for any assurance promised to hym by Oxiartes. Alexander hearing of their comming sent his horsemen before to cause them to stay, and tary for his commyng. And when hee was come to the place where they did abide, he offered sacrifice to Minerua and Victoria, restoring to Sisimithres his former rule and authoritie, putting him in hope of a greater countrey, if he would faithfully continue his friendship, and take his two sonnes presented to him by the father, to serue his warres. Alexander left his footmen to subdue such as were yet vnyelden, and went forwardes with his horsemen into other partes. The way was craggy and difficult, which at the first they endured indifferently: but afterwardes when their horse houes were torne asunder, and they vtterly forwearied, many were not able to follow, but rid dispersed & out of order: the wearinesse of their trauaile so much ouercame shame. The king notwithstãding changed often horse, and pursued without ceasing, his enemies that fled before him: By reason whereof, all the noble yong men ỹ were wont to accompany him, were left behinde, saiuing onely Philip Lisimachus brother, who thẽ beyng in the flower of his youth, and of great likelyhood to become an excellent man, followed on foote the king that did ride on horsebacke by the space of fiftie furlongs: Lisimachus diuers tymes for all that, profered to him his horse. But in no wise he would depart from the king,

notwithstandyng, that he had on his corselet and all his armour. When the kyng passed thorow a wood where his enemies lay in ambushment, he fought notably, and rescued the kyng fighting with his enemies. But after they were put to flight and driuen out of the woodes, the greatnesse of his courage, which had sustained him in the heate of the fight, fainted with his body, and beyng all on a sweate, leaned himselfe to a tree, which did not so stay him, but that he fell to the earth, and beyng taken vp agayne by the kinges handes, shrunke downe from him and dyed. The king being sorowfull for his death, receiued another tidinges no lesse to be lamented. For before he came to hys campe, he was aduertised of the death of Erigius, one of his most notable Capitains, whose funerals was both celebrated with great pomp and ceremonies of honour.

From thence he determined to goe vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstode that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceassed to fauour him, finished that iourney of his as she did many other. Spitamenes was enflamed with the ouermuch loue of his wyfe, whome he caried with him in all his hazardes and aduentures. But she that could not well endure flying, nor to chaunge places like an outlawe, became so wearie of trauell, that by flattery and faire meanes she entised her husband to leaue his flying, and goe about (seeyng he saw

no

no way to escape) to procure Alexãders fauour: of whose clemencie (she sayde) he had seene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, she brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making request, ỳ at the least wayes he would take pitie on thẽ, wherein she thought her prayer would be the more effectuall, because Alexander was not so nere at hand. But Spitamenes iudgyng her not to doe this by way of counsaile, but of purpose to betray him, and that she desired to submit her selfe vnto Alexander, in confidence of her beautie, drew out his sword to haue stricken her, if he had not bene letted by his brethren. When they would not suffer him otherwise to hurt her, he commaunded her to auoyde his sight, threatenyng to kill her, if she prefered to come agayne into his presence: And to mitigate his loue towardes her, he spent the night amongest his concubines. But his loue that was so deepely grounded, thereby ceassed not, but rather kindled the more towards his wyfe. Wherefore he reconciled himselfe agayne vnto her, making his continuall request, that shee would not counsaile nor moue him any more in the matter, but be content wᵭ such chances as Fortune would send him: for he esteemed death lighter thẽ to yeld himselfe. She purged her selfe of her former perswasion, which appeared to her (she said) to haue bene good, and though it

were after a womans maner, yet it proceeded of a faithfull meanyng. Yet from thencefoorth she was contented to do as it should please hym. Spitamenes ouercome with her counterfeit affection, made a great feast, and after much eating and drinking became drousie, and was caried into his chamber. When his wife perceyued him to be in a deepe slepe, she pulled out a swoord, which she had kept secretly for that purpose, and cut of his head, deliuering the same being sprinckled with bloud, vnto her seruant that was priuie to the facte, and with him onely, as she was embrued with bloud, came vnto the Macedones campe, willyng it to be signified to Alexander that there was one come, that had to speake with him. He by and by gaue commandement she should enter: but when he perceyued her defiled with bloud (thinking that she had come to lament some iniury done vnto her) willed her to declare what she would haue. She desired that her seruaunt might come in, from vnderneath whose garment she toke Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto Alexander. The palenesse of the face wanting bloud, had taken away the knowledge whose it was. But when ỹ king perceiued it to be a mans head, he departed forth of the tent, and by enquirie vnderstood the matter. The case brought him in great perplexitie, & he was driuen by diuers imaginations into sundry opinions. He iudged the kilyng of such one (beyng a fugitiue and a rebell)

to

to be a great benefite vnto him: which liuyng might haue bene a great let and impediment to his procedinges. But on the other side, considering the horribleneſſe of the deede, that shee ſhould kill him by treaſon, which loued her ſo entirely, and by whom ſhe had had children: the violence of the acte ouercame the thanke of her benefite, and ſhe was commanded to depart the campe, leaſt the enſample of ſuch licentiouſnes might corrupt the maners and ciuill diſpoſition of the Greekes. When the Dahans vnderſtood of Spitamenes death, they brought Datapher-nes bound, that was partener with him in his conſpiracie, and yelded themſelues vnto Alexander. He beyng deliuered from the greateſt part of his preſent care, determined to reuenge the iniuries of them which had bene miſuſed by the pride and couetouſneſſe of his deputies and officers. Therefore he committed Hircania wt the Cardons and Tapirions to Prataphernes, to whome he gaue in commiſſion to ſend Phradates his predeceſſour to him as a priſoner. Tamſonor was ſubſtituted ruler of Caria in the place of Arſamus. Arſaces was ſent into Media, to the intent that Dridates ſhould remoue from thence. Babylon vpon the death of Mazeus was committed to Meditamenes. When he had ordained theſe thinges, the third moneth he drew his army out of their Winter lodgings, to go vnto a countrey that was called Gabaza. The firſt dayes iourney was quiete,

and the next not very tempestuous: yet darker then had bene accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were commyng. The third day the element was full of lightning, and when the lightning ceased, it was very darke. The beholding thereof amazed the souldiours, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, & the lightning fell in straunge similitudes, so that the army stode astonied, and durst neither goe forwardes, nor remayne still in a place. Then there came sodainely a shower of haile druyng like a streame, which at the first they defended by couerture of their harneis: But shortly after their handes were so cold and wette, that they could not hold their weapons, nor yet deuise which way to turne themselues, findyng alwayes where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Euery man therefore brake his aray, wanderyng about the woodes, and many that were wearied by feare rather then by trauaile, lay downe vppon the ground, notwithstandyng that the force of the cold had conuerted the shower into a frost. The trees, against which they leaned, were a great refuge and helpe to many. And yet they were not ignorant when they rested, that they chose themselues a place of death: for when they left to moue their bodies, the natural heate left thē: But ease was so pleasant to such as were wearied, that they refused not to die in restyng of them-

themselues. Their affliction was not onely vehement for the tyme, but also continued very long: to the encrease whereof, the light, which is a naturall delectation vnto men, through the darkenesse of the shower, and the shadow of the wood, was so taken away, that it appeared as it had bene night. The king onely was able to endure this mischiefe, which ceased not to go about the army, drawing the souldioures together when they were disperkled, lifting them vp that lay on the ground, and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoke that rose a farre off from the cotages, whether he exhorted them to drawe for succour. There was not any thyng more effectual to their safegard, thē that whiles they were ashamed to leaue their Prince, whō they sawe endure this mischiefe, they chafed themselues with their labour and trauell. But necessitie (which in aduerse fortune is of more force then any reason) found out a remedy for this cold. They fell to cutting downe the wode, making euery where heapes & stackes thereof, and set them on fire. Then a man would haue iudged that the whole wood had ben on a flame. For there was scarcely space left betwirt the fiers for mē to stand. Then their nummed members began to be moued with the heat, and their spirits which were oppressed by force of the cold began to haue their frée recourse: Some recouered the cotages, which necessitie caused them to seeke out in the furthermost part of the Wood,

and

and the reſt recouered the campe, which was planted in a moiſt ground. But by that time the ſhower was ceaſed, the tempeſt had conſumed a thouſadd ſouldiers, varlets and ſlaues. It is ſayd that diuers were found froſen to death, leaning againſt trées, and yet ſéemed as though they had bene liuyng and ſpeakyng together. It chaunced that a common ſouldiour of the Macedones, which had much payne to go and cary his armour, came at the laſt into the campe where the king was: who notwithſtandyng that he was chafing of his owne body againſt the fire, yet he did riſe out of his chaire, and pullyng of the nummed ſouldioures armour, that was almoſt paſt his remembraunce, ſet hym down therin. Ye a great while knew not where he ſate, or who had receiued him. But at length when his naturall heate came to him, and perceyued it to be his kings ſeate, and the kyng to be there preſent, was afrayd, & ſtart vp agayne. But Alexander beheld him in the face, and ſaid: Perceiueſt thou not now my ſouldier, with how much better conditiõ thou liueſt, then the Perſians do vnder their king? For it is death for thẽ to ſit in the kinges ſeate, and the ſame hath bene the ſauegard of thy life.

The nert day he called his friendes, and the capitaines of the army togethers, promiſing to reſtore to thẽ whatſoeuer they had loſt, wherein he performed his promiſe. For Siſimithres bringing vnto him many beaſts of burden, with two thouſand Camels, and great number of ſhéepe and oxen, he diſtributed all amongſt the ſoul-

ſouldiers: wherin he both reſtored to their loſſe and alſo deliuered them from hunger. The king gaue great thankes vnto Siſimithres, and commaunding his ſouldiers to carie fiue daies victualles ready dreſſed, went to the Sacans, where he deſtroyed all their Countrey, and of the bootie there taken, gaue thyrtie thouſand ſhéepe in gift to Siſimithres. From thence he came vnto a countrey belonging to a noble prince called Cohortanus, which ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the king. And he againe reſtored his countrey vnto him, exacting nothing of his, but that of his thrée ſonnes he ſhould ſend two with him to ſerue in his warres. But Cohortanus offered to him all thrée, and made a feaſt vnto Alexander, with all ſuch ſumptuouſnes as belonged to the maner of the countrey. Therein all the pleaſures béeing ſhewed that could be deuiſed, thirtie vyrgins of the noble mens children were brought in before Alexander, amongſt whom there was Cohortanus daughter called Roxane, which in beautie and excellencie of perſonage, and in comelyneſſe of apparell (rare amongſt thoſe Nations) excelled all the reſte. And notwithſtanding that they were all elect with whom ſhe was accompanied: yet ſhe drewe all mens eyes towardes her, and ſpecially the kinges, that could not well nowe gouerne his affections in ſuch proſperitie of fortune, beeing the thing that the frailneſſe of man ſeldome can auoide. Thus he which beheld the Wife of Darius and her two Daughters,

(to

(to whome Rorane was nothing comparable) with no other intente then he might haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young vyrgin, beeing but of a base stocke, if she should be compared to kings bloud, that hee affirmed it to bee a thing necessarie for the establishment of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedõs to mary togither: by which onelye meanes shame myght bee taken from the vanquished, and pride from the victorers.

Hee also for his purpose alleadged a president, howe Achilles (of whome hee was descended) ioyned himselfe with a captiue. And least hys doinges shoulde bee thought iniurie, he would couple himselfe by the waye of mariage. The Father ioyfull of these newes that he loked not for, gladly confirmed the kinges wordes: Who in the heate of his desire, caused breade to bee brought forth, according to the custome of hys Countrey, the same beeing the moste religious ceremonie of maryage amongst the Macedons: which bread was cutte asunder with a sworde, and eche of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought, that such as established the customs of that nation, coueted by a moderate and a scarse dyet, to shewe to them that were the gatherers of great riches, with howe small a thing they ought to content themselues. Thus he that was both king of Asia and Europe, ioyned himselfe in mariage with a maide brought in at a maske, to begette vppon a captiue, that

should

should raign ouer the victorious Macedons. His frendes were ashamed that he should chose vpon drinke a father in lawe, of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clytus, all the libertie and franknes of speech beeing taken away, they seemed to agrée with their countenances, as the most apt instrument to declare the consent of the mynde. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towardes India, purposing to visite the Occean Sea. And because he would leaue nothing behinde his backe that might be impediment to his erpedition: he toke order for thirtie thousand young men to be leuied out of all the prouinces, and to be brought to him armed, minding to vse them both as pledges and as souldiers. He sente Craterus to pursue Vaustanes, and Catenes: of whom the one was taken, and the other slayne. Polycarpon also subdued the countrey that was called Bubacen. And so hauing set all thinges in order, he set his whole imagination vppon the warre of Inde, which was counted to be a verie rich countrey, and to abounde both with golde, pearles, and pretious stones: thinges more appertayning to voluptuousnes, then to magnificence: & it was saide that the souldiers there had their targets made of Iuorie, and of gold. And therefore leaste he which thought himselfe to excel the rest, should bee passed in any point, caused hys souldiers to garnish their targets with plates of siluer: the horsemen to make their bridels of golde,

golde, and their coꝛſlettes to bee beautified with golde, and with ſiluer. There were a hundꝛed and twentie thouſand armed men that followed Alexander in the warre. When all thinges were in readines (foꝛ the purpoſe he long beforꝛe conceiued in his euil diſpoſed mind) ethought it time to compaſſe howꝛ he might vſurp the name and honour of a God, and ſo willed himſelfe not onely to be called, but alſo to be beléeued to bee the ſonne of Iupiter, as though his powꝛer had béene as wel to reſtraine mennes thoughtes as their tongues. His intent was that the Macedons ſhould fall gꝛoueling vppon the gꝛounde & woꝛſhip him after the like maner the Perſians did their kinges. And to ſuch his deſire, there wanted not pernitious flatterie, the perpetuall poyſon of Pꝛinces, whoſe eſtate hath had moꝛe often ouerthꝛowꝛs by flatterie, then by any foꝛce of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this: foꝛ none of them ſuffered gladlye their countrey cuſtomes to be ſubuerted. But it was the fault of ỹ Gréekes, which with their naughtie conditions coꝛrupted the pꝛofeſſion of honeſt ſciences. There was one Hagis of Argiue, as euill a Poet as was ſince Cherillus dayes, and an other called Cleo a Sicilian, giuen to flatterie both of nature, and by the cuſtome of ỹ countrey. They with other the dꝛegges and refuſe of their cuntreys (whom Alexander reputed moꝛe then any of his capitains oꝛ his kinſmen) would haue made it appéere to the woꝛld, that heauen

had

had layen open for Alexander, and sticked not o-penly to pronounce that both Hercules & Bac-chus, Castor and Pollux, shoulde all giue place to his new Godhead. For the bringing of those thinges to passe, the king commaunded vppon a solempne day a feast to be prepared with great pompe, inuiting thereunto all the great Lordes and Gentlemen, both of the Macedons and the Grékes: with whome when he had sitten and eaten a while, he departed from thence out of ỹ feast. Then Cleo, as was before determined, set forth his talke with great praise and wonder of the kinges vertues, rehearsing his excéding be-nefites towardes them all: which to requite, he saide there was but one way, and that was if they would acknowledge him a God, whō they knew to be one. For it is a smal thing (quoth he) to recompence such great benefits towards you with the cost of a litle frankinsence. He shewed the Persians custome to bee both religious and wise, in worshipping their kings as Gods: thin-king their defence and sauegarde to consiste in the maiestie of their Prince. He saide, that Her-cules and Bacchus were deified, when they had once ouercome the enuy of such as liued in their time: And men that come after, doe easily be-léeue such thinges as haue béene confirmed by their predecessors. If any of you (quoth he) will sticke at this matter, ye shal sée me the first that at the kings comming in, shall fall down groue-ling on the earth and worship him. Whic ỹ pre-

sent

ſident others ought to folow, and ſpecially men of moſt wiſedome, that ſhould alwaies be example to others in doing their duties toward their prince. His tale tended directly againſt Caliſtenes, whoſe grauitie and prompt libertie of ſpeaking was hateful vnto the king: for he thought him the man which onely had ſtaied the Macedons, that els would readily haue done to him that honour. Hereupon euerie mans eies were turned towards Caliſtenes, which after ſilence made, ſaid in this wiſe.

If the king were preſent (Cleo) to heare theſe thy wordes, it ſhoulde not bee needefull then to aunſwere thee: for he himſelf would make requeſt that he might not thus ſwerue out of this kinde into the cuſtomes of ſtraungers, nor he would not ſuffer that thou ſhouldeſt deface and bring in the obloquie and enuy of men, with ſuch thy pernitious flatterie, his noble actes brought to paſſe with ſuch felicitie and good fortune. But becauſe he is away, I will for him thus aunſwere thee. There is no fruite ſoone ripe, that will continue long. This I meane by the diuine honours, which, whileſt thou goeſt about to giue vnto the king, thou takeſt his honour from him. There is a time required that men ſhould beleeue him to bee a God: for that gift hath alwayes beene giuen to great men, when they are once deade, by ſuch as came after them: I wiſhe vnto the king immortalitie after his death, and that his life may be long, and his eſtate continuall. But ſanctifiyng is a thing that ſometime doth followe a man, but it neuer doth accompany him. Thou didſt rehearſe examples of the deifying of Hercules, and Bacchus. Thinkeſt thou that they were made Goddes vppon drynke, and by the decree of one Dinner? The nature of Alexanders manhoode muſt bee remoued from our mortall eyes, before the fame can bring hym into heauen. Are not they goodlie Goddes (Cleo) that

thou

thou and I can make? Would the king bee contente (trowest thou) to receyue of vs the authoritie of hys Godhead? I haue great desire to proue thy power, if thou canst make a God, first make a king. It is much more easie to giue a worldly kingdome, then the possession of heauen. Thinkest thou (Cleo) that the immortall Goddes will heare thee without disdayne, or suffer these thy wycked deuyses to take effecte? They would that wee shoulde holde vs content with the customes of our forefathers: and for my parte I am not ashamed of my Countrey, nor I requyre not to learne after what maner I shoulde honour my Prince. For in my opinion, wee acknowledge him sufficiently to bee king and victourour, of whome wee receyue Lawes to liue vnder.

Callistenes was fauourably heard of all men, as the person whom they counted the recouerer of their libertie. He did not only in his tale paint out such flatterers, but also liuely expressed the opinion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auncient men, to whom the exchaunge of their olde vsages were grieuous. The kyng was nothing ignorant of the wordes that had passed betweene them: for hee stoode behynde a partition of the Hall, and heard all the matter. He sent worde therefore to Hagis and Cleo, that at hys comming in, they shoulde moue the straungers onelye to fall downe and worshippe him after their Countrey custome. And after a whyle, the king (as though hee hadde been about some matters of importaunce, retourned agayne into the feast: and then the Persians fell downe and worshipped him after such sorte as was deuised, but Polcarpon

that

that sate aboue the king at the boord, asked one in scorne that touched the grōūd with his chin, why he kissed no harder: with which words he moued Alexander to yre, whereof he was euer vnpacient: so that he said vnto Policarpon: Is it thou that disdainest to honour me? shall I be mocked of thee alone? He answered, that it was not seemely a king should bee scorned, nor yet a subiect despised: With which wordes the king plucked him from the table, & threwe him downe: to whom he saide, falling groueling vpon the earth: Lo, hast thou not done thy selfe, that before thou didst scorne in an other man? and thereupon he commaunded him to warde, and so brake vp the feast. Policarpon being thus punished, was afterwardes pardoned, but Calistenes (whose contempt and stubbornnesse the king had long grudged at) grounded his displeasure then more deepely: vpon whom there chaūced shortly after an apt occasion to be reuenged. It was a custome (as it hath beene said before) amongst the noble men of Macedō, to put their sonnes when they were past their childhode in seruice to the king, as pages to do necessary businesse about his person. Their vsage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber doore, where the king laye. The Concubines were brought in by them by an other way where the garde watched. They likewise receiued the horses of the groomes of the stable, & brought them to the king when he leaped on. They alwayes

were

were about the king both in hunting & in battaile, and were brought vp in the studie of liberall sciences. The chiefest honour was giuen vnto them, because they might sit and eat with the king: none had power to correct them with strypes, but onely the king himselfe. This companie was like a masse or store, from whence all the Capitaines and gouernours of the Macedons did come. From thence came their later kings, whose lynage the power of the Romains long after did extinct. Hermolaus one of ỹ number, because he had stryken a Boze (whome the king had thought to haue striken himselfe) was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged with roddes, which rebuke hee toke græuously and complained to Nicostratus his frende, that was one of the same companie: Which saing the bodie torne, whereunto hee had so great affection, and peraduenture offended also with the king before, for some other cãuse, stirred so Hermolaus (which was prouoked sufficiently already) that ech gaue faith to other to find a way to destroy the king: Which they executed, not with any childish procæding, but wisely agræed to bring Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, and Philotas into the fellowship of their conspiracie. And afterwards they ioyned vnto them more, Anticles, Elaptonius, & Philmanes. But the meane how to performe this enterprise, sæmed verie difficult, because it behoued all them to watch togither. And it was the vsage that

vsage that according to their courses, some watched one night, and some another. For if anye should happen amongst them ỹ were not priuie to the matter, the same might be a lette to the whole enterprise. Therefore about chaunging ỹ course of their watch, and in other preparation for the execution of their purpose, there passed 23. daies. At length the night came when the whole number of the conspirators should watch togither, who reioiced greatly amongst themselues, that ech had kept faith to other: wherof so many daies silence had giuen great presumption: during which time neither feare nor hope, had altered any of their mindes, so great was their displeasure they had conceiued against the king or els the fidelitie they bare ech to other. They were standing at the doore where the king dyd eate, to the intent that at his rising from ỹ banquet, they might bring him to his chamber. But Alexanders fortune, and the pleasantnes of such as were in his companie, moued him to drinke largely, whereby, & by reason of other pastimes and deuises, the time was so prolonged, that the conspyrators stode in a marueilous perplexitie. For one whyle they were glad, because they trusted to finde hym drunke, when they should go about their enterprise, and another whyle they were in great agonye, least he should sitte till day light, for then the custome was to relieue the watch, and other to succeed in their places, and since their course shoulde not bee come

tome againe till the seuenth night after they could not be assured that euery one of thē would kæpe the thing secret all that time. But when the day began to appære, and Alexander was rysen from the banquet: they were so glad to execute their malice, that they became ioyfull to receiue the king. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the Court, which beeing extraught of her minde, and seeming by some inspyzation to shewe thinges to come, met Alexander, and would in no wise suffer him to passe, but perswaded him by all meanes she could deuise, to returne and sit downe againe. Ye saide to her in spozt that the Gods gaue him good aduyse: and thereupon called backe againe to hys familiars, and sate drinking till it was twoo houres after day light. By which time an other company had relæued the watch, and were standing before the kings chamber dooze: yet for all that the conspyzatozs remained stil after ẏ time of their watch expyzed: So vehement is ẏ hope which mens mindes conceiue, when they bee drowned in the desire to great things. The king spake mozе gently to them then hee was accustomed, and willed them to go to their rest, foz so much as they had watched all the night before: & gaue vnto euery one of them in reward 50. sestercies, with commendation of their diligence, ẏ they continued their watch longer then their time. Being thus deceiued of ẏ great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgings.

in expectation of the night when their course should come againe. But Ephimanes which either by the gentlenes of the king shewed him amongst the rest, or els that he thought the prouidence of God had withstode their purpose, sodeinly chaunged his mind, and opened ẏ matter they had gon about to his brother Eurilochus, ẏ was not priuie to ẏ matter before. The punishment of Philotas was so freshe in euerie mans memorie, that Eurilochus laide streightwayes handes vppon his brother, and brought him into the Court. He called to the watch, and shewed them that he brought newes pertaining to ẏ kinges sauegarde: which thing well appeared, as well by their comming at such a time, as also by their sadnesse, which was a testimonie of their troubled mindes. The watch men called vp Ptolomeus and Leonatus, that lay within the kings chamber, who streightwayes brought them in to the king, and wakened him, that by reason of his much drinking lay in a dead slæpe. It was long ere he awoke, but by litle and litle he came to himselfe, and asked what the matter was. Then saide Eurilochus, thanked be the Gods that haue not vtterly determined the ruyne of our familie. For though my brother purposed an heynous acte, yet is hee come to repentaunce, by him the matter is brought to light. This same verie night treason was conspyred against you, the authours thereof be such as you would scarsely thinke.

And

And thereupon Ephimanes declared all things in order, with the names of the conspirators. It is certeine that Callistenes was not named as one priuie to that treason: but it was confessed that he gladly gaue eare to others talke, when they blamed and spake euill of the kinges proceedings, some doe ad therunto, that when Hermolaus did complaine to Callistines how ỹ king had beaten him, he bad him remember how hee was a man. But whether hee spake it to take ỹ thing in patience, or els to stirre him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the king was fully awaked, and called to his memorie ỹ perill he was in, hee gaue Curtiochus fiftie talentes, with the forfait of a rich mans goods called Tiridates, and forgaue his brother, before his pardon was required. He commaunded the principals of this treason to be kept bound, and amongst them Callistines: who beeing taken & brought into the Court, the king slept all ỹ day, and the night ensuing: he was so heauie wt̃ drinking & watching. The nert day he called a great councell, whereat the fathers and kinsfolkes of the conspirators were present, not verie wel assured of their sauegarde, because that by the law of the Macedons all ought to die, that were any thing of kynne to traytoures. All the conspyrators except Callistines by the kinges commaundement were brought foorth, immediately confessing the whole treason that they had deuised. Then euery man present reuiled them, and the

and the king required what he had done to the, why they should conspyre his death. When all the other stode still and helde their peace: Hermolaus aunswered thus.

Ye demaund this thing of vs, as though yee knewe not the matter. We went about to kill you, because you began to raigne ouer vs, as if we were slaues, and not frée borne.

As he was speaking those wordes, his father Persepolis called him traytour and murtherer of his parents, stopping his mouth with his hād because he should speake no further. Then the king plucked his father backe, and willed Hermolaus to speake such things as he had learned of his master Calisthenes. Then Hermolaus proceéded,

I will vse your benefite, and declare those thinges which I haue learned to the great mischiefe of vs all. Howe small is the number of the Macedons remayning, that haue escaped your cruelties? Attalus, Philotas, Parmenio, Lyncestes Alexander, and Clytus are nowe dead: but to our enemies behoue they bée aliue. They stode in the sight, and defended thée with swords, receyuing woundes for your glorie and victorie, which nowe be verie well rewarded: The one besprinkled your table with his bloud, & the other could not be suffered to die a simple death. Thus the Cappitaines of your people be tormented and put to death: a pleasaunt spectacle to the Persians, of whome they were victourers. Parmenio, by whom ye slewe your enemis Attalus, was put to death without iudgment. Thus ye vse the hands of vs wretches as instrumēts one to kill another: and such as euen nowe were your tormentours, streightwayes you commaund to be tormented of others.

At those wordes the multitude began to shout against

againſt Hermolaus, and his father drewe out his ſworde to haue ſlaine him, if he had not beene letted by the king, which commaunded Hermolaus to ſpeake, requyring the reſte to heare hym pacientlye, which (he ſaide) enforced the cauſe of his owne punishment. At length with great labour they held their peace, and then Hermolaus began againe.

How liberall is he to ſuffer rude children to ſpeake, when the voice of Caliſtenes is ſhutte vp in prysion, becauſe hee alone is able to tell his tale? And why? becauſe he feareth the free ſpeech of an innocent, and becauſe hee cannot endure to beholde his face: and yet I will iuſtifie that he is not priuy to this matter. But other there bee heere that purpoſed with mee a notable enterpriſe, of whome there is not any that can accuſe Caliſtenes of conſent, and yet our ſo pacient and righteous a king, hath determined heere his death. Theſe be the rewards of the Macedons, whoſe bloud is miſuſed as vyle, and of no vaiour. Hee hath thirty thouſande Mules carying ſpoyle and treaſure, and yet the poore Souldiers cary nothing with them but vnrewarded woundes and ſkarres: All which thinges wee did eaſily ſuffer, before hee did betraye vs to the barbarous, and after a newe trade of victorers made vs ſlaues. Hee alloweth the apparayle and diſcipline of the Perſians, and deſpiſeth the maners of his owne Countrey. And therefore wee determined to kyll him, not kyng of Macedon, but kyng of Perſia, and as a fugitiue perſecuted him by the lawe of Armes. Hee woulde haue the Macedons kneele to him, and worſhippe hym as a God. Hee refuſed Philyppe for hys Father: and if any God had beene before Iupiter hee would haue refuſed hym lykewiſe. Doe you marueyle if free menne cannot beare this his pryde? What can wee hope for at hys handes, ſeeyng wee muſt eyther die as innocentes; or els (that is worſe then death) lyue and remayne in bondage as ſlaues?

He is greatly in my debt, if by this he could amend: for he may learne of mee the thing that free hartes cannot endure. Spare them whose age shall be sufficiently tormented with the losse of their children: but vpon vs cause execution to bee done, to the intent that wee maye obteine by our owne death, the libertie wee sought for by his.

When Hermolaus had spoken these words, the king then aunswered after this maner.

How false these thinges bee which he hath learned of his instructor, my patience doth declare. For notwithstanding he before confessed this treason, yet my mind was ye should heare what he could say: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to this theefe to speake, that he would vie the same rage & furye in his talke, which before moued him to haue killed me, who he ought to haue loued as his father. Of late whē that in hunting he vsed a great presumption, I commaunded him to bee chastised after the custome of our countrey vsed by the kinges of Macedon: Which chastisement wee must graunt needfull to bee done, lyke as the pupils bee accustomed of their tutors, the wyues of their husbands, and seruantes of their maisters. This was all the cruelitie I vsed towardes him, which hee would haue reuenged wyth murther and treason. But howe gentle I am to all persons, that suffer me to vse myne owne disposition, since you your selues do know, it were but superfluous for mee to rehearse. I cannot maruaile at all, though punishment of traytoures bee displeasaunt vnto Hermolaus, since hee himselfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned Lyncestes Alexander, which was accused by two witnesses, that hee twise conspyred treason against mee: and againe conuicted, yet deferred I his punishment twoo yeeres, tyll you your selues required that he might haue his deseruing. Touching Attalous, ye remember verie well, howe hee wrought Treason agaynst mee before I was king. And for Clytus, I would God hee had not mooued me to yre, whose

whose rash tongue speaking the rebuke & shame both of me and you, I suffered longer then he would haue done me, speaking the like. The clemency of the kings and princes consisteth not onely in their owne dispositions, but in such as be vnder their subiection. For the rigour of such as be rulers, is mitigated with humilitie. But when mens mindes be voyd of reuerence, and high and lowe be confounded all alike, then force is necessary to repulse violence. But why do I maruel that he laid crueltie to my charge, that durst obiect towards me couetousnesse? I will not call you to witnesse one by one, least I should vpraid you with liberality, by making declaratiõ what I haue bestowed vpon you. Behold the whole multitude, which a litle while ago had nothing els but their bare armour: doe they not lie in siluer beds? be not their tables charged with plate, & possesse they not whole flocks of slaues? They are not able to sustaine the spoiles of their enemies. But it is sayd, the Persians be honoured of me, whom we haue conquered. Truely they be so, and yet what greater praise can there be of my moderation, then that I doe not raigne proudly ouer such as I haue subdued. I came into Asia not vtterly to subuert the nations, nor to make the one halfe of the world desert, but to giue the conquered cause not to repent them of our victory. This is the occasion they gladly fight for you, and for your kingdome spend their bloud, which if they were proudly vsed, would straight rebell against you. The possession is not durable which is possessed by violẽce, but the thankes of gentlenes receiued, endured euerlastingly. If we purpose to enioy Asia, & not to make a progresse thorow it, we must make them partakers of our clemencie, and then their fidelitie shall make our Empire stable and perpetuall. And truely we haue now more then we can well wishe or desire. Couetousnesse is an vnsatiable thing, specially when men desire to fill the vessell that runneth ouer. But ye will say that I mixe and bring their customes amongst oures. It is so, and why? because I see in diuers nations right many things which we neede not be ashamed to follow. And so great an Empire as we haue gotten, cannot otherwise be aptly gouerned, except we deliuer

some

some things to them, and receiue likewise some things agayne. One thing is to be laught at, that I should refuse Iupiter for my father, beyng so acknowledged by his oracle: as who saieth, the answer of the gods were in my power. He profered the name of his sonne vnto mee, which was not a thing vnmete for the things we purposed. I would wishe that the Indians beleeued me to be a god: for the successe in warre standeth much by fame, and that which is falsly beleeued, sometyme worketh the effect of things true. Doe you note me giuen to excesse and prodigalitie, because I garnished your armour with gold and siluer? My purpose was to shew mē accustomed with such things nothing to be more vile then such kinde of mettall, & to declare that the Macedons inuincible in other things, could not be ouercome with gold it selfe. After this maner I shall blind the eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the first sight to wonder at things, be they neuer so base and vile. And in that we shew to make no estimation of it, we shall declare to all men that we are not come for desire of gold nor siluer, but to subdue the whole world: From which glory thou traitour, thou wouldst haue bereaued me, and betraied the Macedons (I being slaine) to the barbarous nations. I am exhorted to be your parents. Is it needful I shuld make him priuie what I haue determined of them: no I will not: and to that intent he might die with the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memory of them. It is long agoe since I did forgoe the custome of putting the innocent parents and kinsfolke of traitours to death with the offenders. And I now profesle to pardon and haue thē all in the same estimation I had before. I know why thou wouldst haue thy master Calistines brought forth, which onely esteemed thee, being of his sort: because thou desirest to heare pronounced of his mouth, those railing words, which euē now thou didst spit out against me. If he had bene a Macedon borne, I had brought him into the place with thee: a worthy master for such a disciple, but beyng borne in another countrey, he is subiect to another law.

When he had spoken these words, he dimissed the

the councel, & commanded all such as were condemned, to be deliuered to the souldiers of their owne bands: Who because they would declare by some cruelty ỹ loue they bare towards their prince, slue them al by torments. Calistenes also died vpon the racke, innocent of the conspiracie against the kings person, but a man not pliable to the custome of the court, & abhorring frō the disposition of flatterers. There was neuer thing ỹ brought the Grēeks in greater indignation against Alexander, then ỹ he not onely killed, but caused to be tormented to death, & that without iudgement, a man endued with godly maners and good sciences, by whom he was perswaded to liue, when he purposed to haue dyed for sorow that he had slaine Clitus: which his cruelty, repentance followed that came too late. But lest he might norish idlenes, apt for sowing of seditious rumors, he marched toward India, alwais more glorious in war thē after his victory. The whole country of India lieth chiefly towards ỹ east, conteining more in length then in bredth. The north parts be ful of mountaines & hils, but al ỹ rest of ỹ land is plain, hauing many faire riuers, which running out of ỹ mōut Caucasus, do passe thorow ỹ country. Indus is more cold thē any other riuers, whose water is not vnlike ỹ color of ỹ sea. But of al ỹ riuers in ỹ Māt Ganges is most excellēt, which running from ỹ south, passeth directly thorow many great mōuntains, vntill that by the encountring of rockes,

his

his course is turned toward the East, where it is receiued into the red sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe his bankes, swalowing in trées, and much of the ground. In many places the streame is kept in with rocks, where upon it beateth: But where the ground is more large, and maketh many Ilands. The greatnes of Ganges is much encreased by Acesines, which méete before they enter into the Sea: At their méeting the water is violently troubled, whiles the one resisteth the others entrie, neither of them séeme to giue place to other. Diardnes is a riuer of the lesse fame, because it rũneth in the vttermost boundes of India: but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles, as the Nile doeth, and also Delphines, with monsters vnknowen to other nations. Croked Erimanthus with his many turnings and reflexions, is consumed by the inhabiters with watering their ground, which is the cause that when it draweth néere the sea, it becommeth very litle, and beareth no name. There be many other riuers that do deuide the country, but none of them be so famous as these, because they doe not runne so far. The North winde doeth blast and harme most those partes that be nert vnto the Sea: But those windes be so broken with the tops of the mountaines, that they cannot endamage the inward partes of the countrey, wherefore fruites be very plentifull there and perfect. But that region doth differ so much from the ordinary course of

tyme

tyme in other partes of the woꝛld, that when o-
ther countries be burned moſt with the ſunne,
India is couered ouer with ſnow. And when o-
ther places be froſen, the heate is there moſt in-
tollerable, and yet there appeareth not any na-
turall cauſe why it ſhould be ſo. The colour of
the Indiã ſea not differing much from the wa-
ter of other ſeas, did take his name of king Eri-
thꝛus, whereof the ignoꝛant toke opinion, the
water of thoſe ſeas was red. The land is very
aboundant of flaxe, whereof the moꝛe part of
their garments be made. The twigges of the
trees be ſo tender, that they receiue the pꝛint of
letters like waxe. The birdes by teaching, coũ-
terfet mens voyces. There be many beaſtes
which are not bꝛed amongſt other nations. Rhi-
nocerotes be there bꝛought foꝛth, but not bꝛed.
The Elephants of that country be ſtronger thẽ
thoſe that be made tame in Affꝛike, and their
bigneſſe doe anſwer vnto their ſtrength. The
water of the riuers doe cary downe golde, and
runne mildly without any great fall. The Sea
doth caſt vpon the ſhoꝛe both pearles and pꝛeci-
ous ſtones, whereof pꝛoceeded the cauſe of their
great riches, after their merchandiſe was once
knowen to other nations, the purginges of the
ſeas beyng then eſteemed, as mans fanſy would
make the pꝛice. The diſpoſition of the men (as
in all other places) be accoꝛding to the ſituation
of the countries they dwel in. They make their
garments of linnen cloth, which couer their bo-

dies

vies downe to their feete. They binde soles vnder their feet, and wrappe rolles of linnen about their heads. Such as be in any degree either of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones hāging at their eares, and couer all their armes with bracelets & ornaments of gold. They vse great curiositie in kembing of their heads, which they round very seldome. They shaue without any forme of grauitie, all partes of their face, sauing their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnes (which they call magnificence) vsed by them, doeth exceed the vices of all nations. Whē their will is to be seene abroad, their seruaunts cary about them perfuming pannes of siluer, and fill all the wayes where they goe with sweete sauours: they themselues be borne in litters of gold hanging full of pearles, and the garments they weare, be of gold and purple together. The armed men follow their litter, and such as be of their gard, amongst whom there be birds borne vpon boughes, which they had taught alwayes to sing, when they be occupied in earnest matters. In the kinges palace there be pillers of gold carued about with vines of gold, wherein the images of those birdes they delight most in, be artificially wrought. The court is open to all commers. When the kinges doe kembe and dresse their heads, then they vse to giue answer to the Embassadoures, and to doe iustice vnto their people. When their soles be taken of, their feete be annointed with sweete odoures. The

greatest trauell they take, is when they hunte wilde beastes enclosed in Parkes, which they strike whiles their Concubines be singing and dalying with them. The arrowes that they shoote, be of two cubites long, which doe not the effect of the force they be shot withall, by reason of their weight, which is an impediмēt to their swiftnesse, wherein the propertie of the arrowe chiefly consisteth. In small iourneis they vse to ride on horsebacke: but when they haue to trauell further, they be caried vpon Elephantes, whose huge bodies be couered all ouer with gold. And because no vice should want amōgst their corrupt maners, great routes of cōcubines do follow them in golden litters. The Quēnes haue their bands seperate by themselues, which in all excesse of voluptuousnes be nothing inferior vnto the kings. It belongeth to the women there to dresse meat, and they also serue men of wine, whereof there is great plenty amongst the Indians. When ỹ king hath largely drunke, & is fallen in a sleep, his cōcubines vse to cary him into his chāber, calling vpon their gods, with a song after their countrey maner. Who would thinke ỹ amongst al these vices, there were any regard had of vertue. There is amōg thē a rude & vncluil kind of people, whō they call wise mē, which count it ỹ most glorious thing to preuent their own death, & they vse to burne themselues whiles they be aliue. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either cannot well stir for age,

or haue not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till naturall death approch: For there is no honour giuen to those bodies that dye for age. They thinke the fires be defiled, if the bodies be not aliue that be burned in them. Such as liue in cities after a ciuile maner, attaine to the most apt knowledge of the starres mouing, and of the prophesieng of things to come. For they cannot thinke that any man doeth shorten his life, that loketh for death without feare. They esteeme those for gods, whom they begin once to worship, and specially trees, the violating of the which, they forbid vnder payne of death. They count after 30. dayes to the month, notwithstanding limite their yeeres as they do in other places. They marke not their times by such course of the Mone as is commonly vsed: that is, from the full Mone, but from the first quarter, when she beginneth first horned: and by counting after the same maner, make them the shorter. There be many other thinges reported of them, with the which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this history. As Alexander entred into India, the princes of the countrey came vnto him, submitting themselues and declaring, that he was the third man that euer came amongst them, beyng begotten of Iupiter. They said that Hercules and Bacchus was not knowen to them, but onely by fame, but they reioyced that they might behold him presently with their eyes. Alexander receiued

ued them with all gentlenes he could deuise: & willed thē to accompany him, because he would vse them as guides in his iourney. But when he sawe that the whole number came not, hée sent Ephestion and Perdicas with part of his army before, to subdue such as would not submit themselues, and willed thē to go forwardes till they came to the riuer of Indus, and there to make boates, wherby he might transport his army: And because they had to passe many riuers, the boats were so deuised, that they might be taken asunder to be caried in cartes, and afterwards ioyned againe togither. He appointed Craterus to folow him with the Phalanx: and he with such horsemen and footemen as were light armed, went before, and beyng encountred on his way, fought with a small battell, and did driue his enemies into the next city. Whē Craterus was come (to the intent he might strike terrour amongst those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force) he commaunded ỹ when they wanne the citie, they should kil both man, woman, and child, and burne the same to the hard ground: But whiles he rid about the walles, he was striken with an arrowe. Notwithstanding the citie was wonne, and all put to the sword, the very houses not escapyng the victorers cruelty. After this he subdued an obscure nation, and came to a citie called Nisa. It chanced that whiles they encamped in a Wood before the city, there fell a cold in the night, that

more afflicted the Macedones, then euer it had done before in any other place: Against ỹ which they prepared the remedy that was next at hãd, and cut downe the wood to make them great fiers: The flame whereof caught the sepulchres belõging to the citie, which by reason they were made of Ceder, were sone set on fire, and neuer left burning, till they were all consumed. That fire made both an alarme in the citie, and to the campe: for thereby the citizens iudged ỹ their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceiued by the barking of the dogs, and noise of men, that the Indians would salie out vpon them. Wherfore Alexander issuing out of his camp in order of battell slue such of them as attempted the fight. Thereupon, they within the citie became of diuers opinions, some were minded to yeeld, and other thought good to aduenture the extremitie. When Alexander vnderstood of their deuision, he caused his man to abstaine from slaughter, & onely to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wearied with the discommodities of the warre, that they yelded themselues. They affirmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who in deed builded their city at the sote of a mountain called Meroe: The quality of which moũtain being reported to Alexander by the inhabiters, he sent vitails before, & passed thither with his whole army, encamping vpon the top thereof. The mountain grew ful of vines and iuy, a-

boun-

boũding wᵗ ſpꝛings ẏ flowed out in euery place. The ſame was alſo plentiful of many kindes of apples of moſt pleaſaunt taſte, the ground alſo bꝛought fꝛth cꝛne without any cultuation. There grew alſo plenty of Laurell trees, with many kindes of wild fruit. I cannot impute it to any motion of religion, but rather to plenty & wantonnes, that cauſed thē to repaire thither: where, of the iuy & vine leaues, they made themſelues garlands, & ran vp and downe after a diſſolute maner, all the holowes & valleys thereabout rebounding with ẏ voyce of ſo many thouſands, calling vpon Bacchus, to whome ẏ place was dedicate: Which licence & liberty begun of a few, was ſpꝛedde ſo ſodenly thꝛoughout the whole army, that the ſouldiers ſcattered abꝛoad without oꝛder, lay here & there rꝛpoſing themſelues vpō the graſſe & leaues that they had gathered together, as it had bene in a time of quiet & moſt aſſured peace. Which licentiouſnes of the ſouldiers riſing by chance, Alexāder did not wᵗſtand, but ẏ.dais together made feaſts to Bacchus, during which time he bāqueted his whole army. Who can therfoꝛe deny but ẏ greatnes of fame & gloꝛy, is often a benefit rather of foꝛtune thē of vertue: foꝛ their enmies had no hart to ſet vpon thē whiles they wer dꝛowned in this exces of banqueting, dꝛūkenſhip & dꝛouſines, but were as much afraid of their dꝛunken noiſe, as if they had heard their cry encountring with them in battell: Which felicitie pꝛeſeruyng them here,

did afterwards defend them after the same maner in the midst of their enemies, returnyng as it were in triumph from the Ocean sea, when they were giuen al to feasting and dronkennes. When Alexander descended from the mountain, he went to a country called Dedala, which the inhabiters forsoke and fled to the woods and the wild mountaines: and therefore hee passed from thence into Acadora, which he found both burned and abandoned likewise of the inhabiters: whereby of necessitie he was compelled to vse the warre after another maner. For he deuided his army into diuers partes, and shewed his power in many places at once. By which meanes he oppressed them before they could prouide, and subdued them to their vtter ruine. Ptholomeus toke most cities, but Alexander wan the greatest, and afterwards ioined againe his army together, which he had thus deuided. That done, he went forwards and passed a riuer called Choaspe, where he left Cenon to besiege a rich city called Bezira, and he himselfe went to Mazage, where Assacanus being dead, had left the dominion both of the countrey and the city, to his mother Cleophes. There were 30. M. fotmen, to defend that city, which both was well fortified, and strong of situation, beyng enclosed vpon the East with a swift riuer, hauyng steepe banks defending the city, that it could not be approched on that side. Vpon the South and the West parts, nature (as it were for ỹ nonce) had

had planted high rockes lying betwirt them, & deepe hollowes and pits made of old antiquitie, where as the rockes ceased, there began a ditch of a wonderful depth and wideneſſe. The wall wherewith the city was encloſed, was 35. furlongs in compaſſe, whereof the nether partes were builded of ſtone, and the vpper partes of clay: Yet ſtones were mired with the clay, to the intent that the fraile ſubſtance clingyng to the harder, the one ſhould binde the other. And leaſt the earth waſhed vppon with the raine, might fall altogether, there were ſtanchings of timber put betwirt to ſtay the whole worke: which couered ouer with bordes, was a way for men to goe vpon. Alexander beholding this kind of fortification, was vncertaine what to do. For he ſaw he could not approch to the wals but by fillyng of thoſe ditches and hollow places: And that he could not otherwiſe fill them, then by making a mount, which was the onely way he had to bring his engines to the walles. But whileſt he was viewing the towne after that maner, he was ſtriken from the wall with an arrow in the thigh. Which he pulled out, and without wrappyng of his wound, called for his horſe, and letted not for his hurt to giue order for ſuch thinges as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, the bloud drue from the wound and wared colde, whereby his hurt began to paine him, he then ſayd that he was called the ſonne of Iupiter:

but yet he felt in himself the passions of a diseased body. Notwithstanding, he would not returne into the campe, before he had viewed all things that were necessary, and appointed all things he would haue done. After that the souldiers haue receiued their appointment, by plucking doune of houses without the towne, they got great plenty of stuffe to make the Mounte withall. And by casting stocks of trées on heaps into the ditches and holow places, the Mount within ix. dayes was raised vp to the top of the walles, and the towers were planted vpon the same: such was the labour and diligence ỹ souldiours vsed in the matter. The king before his wound was closed vp, went to sée how ỹ workes went forward: and when he perceiued them in such case, commended the souldiers for their diligence, and caused thinges to be brought to the walles, out of the which they that defended the vvals, were sore afflicted with shot. And by reason they had not séene any such kinde of worke before, were wonderfully amazed, specially whē they beheld the towers, and yet could not perceiue by what meanes they were mœued, iudged those things to be done by the power of the Gods.

And besides, they could not thinke it a matter of mans inuention, that so great dartes and speares as came amongst them, should be shotte by engines, dispairing therefore of the defence of their citie, they retired iuto the castle. And be-

cause

they could not be satisfied any maner of way til they had yelded themselues, they sent Embassadours to the king to aske pardon: which thing obteined at his hand, the Quéne with a great traine of noble women came forth, bearyng in their handes cuppes of gold full of Wine: who presenting her litle sonne before the kings féete, not onely obtained pardon, but also restorement of her former dignitie. Wherfore some thought that her beautie procured her more fauour, then his mercy. But this is certaine, that the childe which afterwardes she brought forth (whosoener did beget it) was called Alexander. From this place Polipercon was sent with a power vnto a citie called Nera, where he ouerthrew in battell the inhabiters that encountred with him, whereby he got the citie into his possession. There were many other Cities obscure of Fame, that came into Alexanders handes by the abandoning of the inhabiters, which assembled themselues together in armour, and kept a rocke called Dorinis. The fame was that Hercules had besieged the same before tyme in vayne, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to depart. When Alexander viewed this rocke, & saw how steepe it was and vnpassable, became voide of counsell, till such tyme as an olde man that knew wel the place, came to him with his two sonnes, offering for a reward to guide his men by a way vp to the top. Alexander promised them 4. score talents, and kéeping one of his

sonnes

sonnes as pledge, sent him to performe that hée had promised. Mullinus the kings Secretarie was appointed with certaine souldiours light armed, to folow the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians by fetching a compasse about the rocke. But the same rocke was not as the more part bée, which lying a slope, hath wayes vp vnto the top by degrées. For it stode bolt vpright after the fashion of a butte, broade beneath, and euer as it grew vpward, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: And it was enclosed on the one side with the riuer of Indus, hauing high and steepe bankes, and vpon the other side with déepe ditches and hollow places ful of water and mud. Wherefore there could be deuised no way to win it, except those ditches were first filled. There was a Wood at hand, which the king cõmanded to be cut doune, and causing the boughes to be shredde of for the cariage, filled the holowes with the bare stocks. Alexander bare the first trée, & all the souldiers folowed after w̃ a courageous shoute: for there was no man ẏ would refuse to do that they saw the king begin, so that within 7. daies ẏ ditches and holow places were filled vp. Then the king appointed the Agriãs, & the archers, to go to the assault, & did chuse 30. yong mẽ of such as he iudged most apt for the purpose out of his band, appointing Charus & one Alexander, to bée their conducters, and exhorted Alexander that the remembrãce of his name might make him hardy.

At

At the first because the hazard was so manifest, the king was not determined to aduenture hys own person, but when the trumpet blew to the assault, he was of such a ready courage, that hee could not abstaine, but making a signe to hys garde that they should followe him, was ỹ first that set foote vpon the rocke. Then there were few contented to tary behinde, but many lefte their araye whereas they stode in order of battaile, and folowed the king. The chaunce of many was miserable, whome the running Ryuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the Rocke: Which sight was sorowfull to such as were out of daunger, being admonished by the perill of other what they ought to feare themselues: hereupon their compassion being turned into feare, they lamented aswell themselues, as those whom they sawe die before their faces. At length they went so far forth, that without getting of the Rocke, they could not retyre backe without great destruction. For their enemies rowled downe great stones vpon them, wherewith they were easily beaten downe, by reason the Rocke had so slipper and vnstable standing. Yet for all that, Charus and Alexander, which were appointed to the leading of the thyrty chosen souldiers, had gotten to the toppe, and began to fight hand to hande. But there were so many dartes cast at them from a far, that they receyued more woundes then they could giue, wherefore Alexander both mindfull of his name, and

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of his promise, whileſt hee fought more egerly then warily, was encloſed about & ſlain. Whom when Charus ſawe deade, he ranne vpon his enemies, and vnmindfull of all things ſauing of reuenge, ſlewe many with his pyke, and diuers with his ſword. But being laide by ſo many at once, he fell downe dead vpon the bodie of his frende. The death of theſe two ſo hardye young men, and of the reſte, moued Alexander greatly: yet perceiuing no remedie in the matter, cauſed the retreit to be ſounded. It was greatly for their ſauegarde, that they retyred by litle and lytle without appearance of any feare. And the Indians contented to haue repulſed theyr enemies, purſued not after them. Alexander here-uppon was determyned to leaue off hys purpoſe, ſeing hee ſawe no hope howe to winne the Rocke: yet he made a countenance as though hee meant to continue the ſiege ſtill. For both he cauſed the wayes to be cloſed vp, & made an approch with towers of wood, alwaies putting freſh men in place of them that wearyed. When the Indians perceiued Alexanders obſtinacie, two daies and two nights they banqueted continually, and plaied vppon tymbrels after their maner, to cauſe theyr enemies think that they had no doubt in the ſiege, but truſted ſurely to preuayle. The thyrd night the noiſe of the tymbrels ceaſed, & many torches were ſeene burning, which the Indians had lighted to ſee which way they might eſcape downe the rocke

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in the darke night. Alexander sent Balacrus to discouer the matter, who founde that the Indians were fledde, and that the Rocke was abãdoned. Then a signe was giuen that the whole army shoulde giue a shoute togither, whereby they did stryke such feare amongest their enemies flying without order, that many of them thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped downe the Rockes, and slew themselues, whereof some maymed in their falling were lefte behind by their fellowes that fled away. Thus the king being victorer of the place, rather then of ỹ men, testified notwithstanding with solempne sacrifices vnto the Gods a greatnes of victorie, and set vp Alters vppon the Rocke to Minerua and Victoria. And though the guides that hee appoynted to his light armed menne, performed not so much as they promised, yet their reward was truely giuen them. And the rule of the Rocke with the countrey thereabout, was committed to Sisocostus, he himselfe going forwardes with his army from thence to Echolina. But vnderstanding that certeine streights thorough the which he should passe, were kept by one Erix with twentie thousande armed men: He committed that part of his army that were heauie armed to Cenon, to bee brought on by soft iourneies, and going before in person wyth the slyngers and Archers, put his enemies to flyght making the way cleare for his armye to passe that followed after. The Indians whether

ther it were for the hatred they bare to their capitaine, or els to get the fauour of the victourer, killed Erix as he fled away, and brought his head and his armour to Alexander. He considering the foulnes of the acte, would not honor the doers for the example thereof, nor punish them, because they serued his purpose. From thence by xvj. remouings hee came to that parte of the Riuer of India, where Ephestion had prepared all things in such sort as he had commission.

One Omphys was kyng of that Countrey, which before had perswaded his father to submit himselfe vnto Alexander. Who immediately vpon his fathers death sent Embassadors vnto him to know his pleasure, whether he should take vppon him as a king before his comming, or els liue priuately in the meane season: And although it was permytted him to gouerne as a king, yet he would not vse the authoritie that was graunted him. He had caused Ephestion to be receiued in the best sort that he could deuise, but notwithstanding had not visited him, because hee would not commit his person to anie mans fidelitie but to the kinges. When he vnderstode of Alexanders comming, he went towardes him with his whole power: Whose elephantes by small distances mixed in battayle amongst his footemen, shewed a far off lyke castels. At the first Alexander did not take hym as a frend, but as an enemie, and therefore set his men in order of battaile, and his horsemen

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in winges in readines for to fight. When Omphis vnderstode the error of the Macedons, hee commaunded his men to stay, and putting hys spurres to his horse, rode forwardes alone. Alexander did the like, putting no doubt whether he were a frend or an enemy, but thought himselfe sure, either through his owne manhode, or the others fidelitie. Their méeting as it appéered by their countenances was very frendly: but for want of an interpretor, they could not speake together. Therefore after they had called one vnto them, the Indyan king declared vnto Alexander, that the cause why he met him with an armye, was to put immediately his whole power into his handes, and had not (he saide) taryed for treat of any assuraunce by messengers, but vpon trust onely had committed both his persō and kingdome vnto him, whome he knewe to make warre for the winning of glorie and fame and therefore could not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioiced to sée his simplicitie, and proffered him his right hande as pledge of hys promise, and restored to him againe his kyngdome. He presented vnto Alexander lvi. Elephantes, with many other beastes of excéeding greatnesse, and three thousand Bulles, which is a cattell of great value in those countreys, & much estéemed of kinges. Alexander enquyred of him whether hee had vnder his dominion more souldiers, or tyllers of the ground. He annswered that he was dryuen of necessitie to haue

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more souldiers, because he was at war with 2. kinges, whose kingdomes lay beyond the Riuer of Hidaspis. Their names were Abiasares, and Porus: but the authoritie remained in Porus: And said that he was prepared, & resolued to adventure the hazard of the battaile with such of them, as should inuade him first. Hereupon Alexander graũted vnto Omphis, both to take vp on him the diademe, and the name of his father that was called Tariles: ỹ custom of the countrey bæing such, that the name euer followed ỹ kingdome whosoeuer enioyed it. When he had receiued Alexander honourably in hospitalitie thræe daies, the fourth day declaring howe much corne he had deliuered to Ephestion and to hys army, he presented to the king & to al his frends crownes of golde, and besides of coyned siluer 80 talentes. Alexander reioiced so much in his good will, that he both retourned againe to him hys giftes, and gaue him besides a thousand talents of the spoile he brought with him, with much plate of golde and siluer, many garmentes after the Persian maner, and 30. of his owne horses, with the same furnitures they wore when hee did ride vpon them: which liberalitie as it boũd Omphis, so it greatly offended the minds of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper, when he had dæpely dronke said: he was very glad that Alexander had yet founde one in India, whome he iudged worthie to receiue the gift of a thousand talentes. The king bearing in minde, how much

much he had repented the slaying of Clytus for the rashnes of his tongue, refrained hys anger, but yet tolde him that enuious men were euer tormentors to themselues. The nexte day the Embassadors of king Abialares came vnto Alexander, who according vnto theyr commission offered all thinges vnto his will: Whereupon promise and assurance being confirmed, they returned againe to their maister. Alexander therefore thinking that through the greatnes of hys name, Porus might bee brought to do the lyke, sent Cleochares to him to demaund tribute, and to sommon him to come and make his homage, when he shoulde enter the boundes of his kyngdome. Porus made aunswere, that of those two requests he would performe one, which was to mete him at the entrie of his kingdome, but y should be in armes and with a power. Alexander therefore hauing determined to passe the riuer of Hidaspis. Barzentes that had beene author of the Rebellion amongst the Arachosians, was taken and brought to him bound with xxx. Elephants: an apt assistance against the Indians, that were wont to put more trust in those beastes, then in the force of theyr owne nation. Gamarus king of a small portion of Indis, that had confederated wyth Barzentes therein, was brought likewise bounde vnto him. Wherefore committing them both to prison, and the Elephantes to Omphis, came vnto the Ryuer of Hydaspis. But Porus laye in Campe on

the further side to let his passage, hauing fowre score and fiue Elephants of huge strength of bodie, three hundred wagons of warre, and thyrtie thousand footemen, amongst whom there were many Archers, whose shaftes (as hath béen said before) was more heauie then they could well welde. Porus himselfe did ride vppon an Elephant greater then all the rest, who also béeing of big stature, appéered notable in his armour, that was garnyshed with golde and siluer, hauing also a courage equall vnto the strength of his bodie, and so great a wisedome, as was possible to be found amongst such rude nations. The Macedons were not so much afraid with the sight of their enemies, as they were with ỹ greatnes of the Riuer that they had to passe, which beeing foure furlonges in breadth, and so déepe that no bottom could be found, appéered to them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse thereof mittigated nothing the violence of the streame, but ranne with no lesse furie then if it had béene narrowe, appæring by the repercussion of the water in many places, to bee full of great stones in the bottome. This Riuer béeing sufficient to feare them of it selfe, the sight of the further banke full of horse and men, was an increase of theyr terror: Where the Elephantes, that had bodies of an vnreasonable bignes stood in their sight, béeing prouoked to bray of purpose, to the intent that with theyr horrible noise they should fill theyr enemies eares full of feare.

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Though the Macedons were couragious, and had theyr harts full of good hope, as they which oftentimes had had experience of theyr owne actes: Yet theyr enemies, and the Riuer both togither made them wonderfully amazed. For they could not thinke howe to kéepe a stedfast course to the further shore in so weake and tottering boates, nor when they were there, coulde sée how to arryue in suretie. There were manie Ilandes in the middest of the Ryuer, into the which both the Indians and the Macedons dyd swimme, holding theyr weapons aboue theyr heades: there they skyrmished togither in the sight of both kinges, which by experyment of such small thinges, made tryall of the successe of the whole. But amongest all the Macedons there were twoo noble young men called Simmachus and Nicanor, excelling in boldnesse and in desperate attempts, which through their continuall good fortune, had gotten a courage to despise all perill. Other young men of the most hardiest, toke them for theyr Capitaines, and without any other armor (sauing theyr pykes) swomme ouer into an Iland béeing full of theyr enemies, where through boldnesse onely, they slew many of them, and so might haue returned with glorie, if rashnesse (where it findeth prosperous successe) could euer be content with measure. But whilest with scorne and pryde they taryed for their enemies, they were sodeinly enclosed of such as priuily swom ouer the Ry-

uer, and were kylled with dartes which they caſt at them from a farre. Such as in this caſe eſcaped theyr enemies, were eyther drowned with the vyolence of the water, or the eddies of the ſtreame. This fyght put Porus in greate courage, that ſawe all their dwinges from the further ſhore: And though Alexander was long vncerteine what way to take, yet at length hee deceiued his enemie by this policie. There was an Iland in the Riuer greater then the reſt, and apte to hide his deuiſe, by reaſon it was full of wood, and had a great rampyre caſt vppon that banke, that was towards his enemies: There both his footmen, and horſemen might ſtand couered from the ſight of the Indians: & the rather to turne their eies another way from the ſpying out of that opportunitie, he cauſed Ptholomeus with a great number of his horſemen to ſhewe themſelues agaynſt theyr enemies far of from the Iland, and to put the Indians in feare of theyr crie, making euer a ſhewe as though they would ſwymme ouer the Ryuer: Which thing Phtolomeus did manie dayes continually together, to the intente that Porus ſhoulde be enforced to remoone his power to that parte to withſtande him, and by that means brought them ont of the ſyght of the Iland. Alexander alſo cauſed his owne pauileon to be ſet vppon ỹ Ryuers ſide ouer againſt his enemies, and all the pompe that perteined to the ſtate of a king to be ſet forth within their view, with the ſame

bande

bande ſtanding in ſight, which was wont to remaine about his perſon. Furthermore Attalus, that was equall with Alexander in yeeres and like to him in face and perſonage, ſtod ther openly apparailed like a king, that it might appeere to Porus, that Alexander was ſtill remaining there, and went not about to paſſe the Riuer. The execution of this deuiſe was firſt letted by a Tempeſt, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effecte: fortune euer vſing to turne her diſcommodities into good ſucceſſe towardes him. For when the enemies were thus attente to obſerue Ptholomeus that lay beneath vpon the Riuer againſt them: And Alexander with the reſt of the army buſy about the paſſing of his men into the Iland before mentioned: There fell ſodeinly a greate ſtorme, ſcarſly tollerable to ſuch as laye within their cabbens, which ſo much afflicted the ſouldiers abroad, that they forſoke theyr boats, and fledde againe to lande. And yet for all this theyr clamor and theyr noyſe was not heard of their enemies through the vehemencie of the ſhoure. As this tempeſt began ſodeinly, ſo it ſodeinlie ceaſed: but the Cloudes remayned ſo darke, y there appeered not ſo much light, as the ſouldiers might know one another by the face, when they ſpake togither: which darkeneſſe might haue feared ſome other man, conſidering they had to row in a riuer they knew not, their enemies peraduenture, waiting for thē at their lan-

ding, whether they went, as blind men that for glorie fought for perill. But Alexander vsed the thing that put other men in terror, to serue for purpose, and willed that euery man (vpon a sign giuen) shoulde enter into their boates with silence: his boate was the first that launched frō the shore, towardes the further side that was voyde of his enemies, Porus onely kéeping hys watch against Phtolomeus. There was but one boate that stacke faste by the way vppon a Rocke, and all the other recouered the lande. Alexander then commaunded his souldiers to prepare their armour, and fall into aray: And whileſt he was deuiding his men, to put them in order of battaile, marching towards his enemies: it was reported to Porus, that a great number of men of war were come ouer the Riuer, and landed, which would streightwayes giue him the battaile. But hee at the first (according to the fault ỳ is in mās nature through the ouer much confidence he had in himselfe) beléeued not the matter, but thought that Abiasares, which was confederate with him, had come in his assistance. Yet when the day appéered, and the matter was manifeſt, Porus then put forth a hundred armed wagons, and foure thousand horsemen, vnder the leading of Hages his brother, to kéepe Alexander doing. They counted those Wagons their principall force: for euerie one of them caried 6. men, 2. archers, 2. with targets, and two that ruled the horses, which were

not vnarmed, but when it came to ỹ fight, they let their reines loose, and bestowed theyr dartes amongst their enemies. But those of the Waggons serued that daye to small purpose: for the showre that had fallen more violently then was accustomed, had made the fields so wet and slabbie, that the Wagons could not stirre, but stuck in the myre, and became immouable: Whereas Alexander beeing wythout baggage, or any thing that might bee impediment vnto him, fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Scithians and the Dahans were the first that gaue the onset: and Perdicas was appointed with the horsmen to charge vppon the right hand battaile of the Indians. Then the battailes beginning to ioyne on all partes, they that had the charge of the wagons, counting them the last refuge, slacked their reynes, and rushed forwardes into the middest of the fight. The comming of these Wagons appeered to be a matter daungerous, and doubtfull to both parties. For at the first brunt both the Macedons were borne ouer, and ouerthrowne by them: and when the wagons came in anie rough or myrie places, the Indians were throwne out of them. For when the horses that drewe them were once galled, and put in feare, they caryed the Waggons without gouernement, and tumbled part in the myre, and parte in the Ryuer: A fewe trauersed the fieldes, and fled for succour vnto Porus: who seeing his wagons scattered ouer all

the fieldes, and wander about wythout theyr Rulers, distributed the charge of his Elephants amongst his frendes, and placed his footemen, and Archers behinde them. He had many that sounded vpon tymbrels, (being Instrumentes that the Indians vse in stede of Trumpettes) wherewith their eares were so filled, that the noyse of theyr enemies litle moued them. They bare also the Image of Hercules in the front of theyr sote battaile, which was done for an encouragement for them to fyght well, and for a note of reproofe and offence to them that should flye from that theyr standard. For it was losse of life to them that left it in the fielde. So that the feare which they conceiued of Hercules that sometime had beene their enemie, was then tourned into a veneration and Religion. The sight both of the Elephantes, and Porus himselfe, astonied the Macedons, and caused them a while to staye. For the beastes being set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a farre off like high towers, and Porus in maner exceeding the stature of manye, the Elephant whereupon he did ride, was a setting forth vnto his highnesse, which excelled so much all the other Elephantes, as hee himselfe excelled the rest of the men: So that Alexander beholding both Porus and his power, saide: that at length he had found a pearle equal vnto his heart. For wee haue to doe (quoth hee) both with terrible beastes, and with notable menne of warre.

And

And there-upon he loked towards Cenon, and saide vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus, Perdicas, and Ephestion shall set vpon the lefte battaile of our enemies, and you shall se vs in the heate of the fight, do you then set forwards my right battaile, and freshly assaile them whē you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus, and Taron, doe you bende your power against their maine battaile, & set vppon their front. Our pikes be long, and strong, & can not serue to any better vse, then against the Elephants, wherwith they may be thrust through and such ouerthrowne as be caried vppon theyr backes. The Elephantes be but an vncerteine force, which vse to do most harme to their owne parte: for as they vse to go against his enemies so long as they be at commandement: so when they be once in feare, they tourne against theyr owne side, and shewe moste rage towardes them. He had not so sone spoken those wordes, but he put spurres to his horse, passing agaynst his enemies: and when according to his appointmēt he had giuen the charge, Cenon with a great force brake vppon the left battayle. And the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amongest the myddest of their enemies. When Porus sawe the horsemen giue the charge, hee put forwardes his Elephantes to encounter them. But they being slow beastes, & not apt sodainly to moue, were preuented by the swiftnes of the horses: and their bowes stode not them in any

great

greate stéed: for by reason their arrows were so long and heauy, that they could not nocke them within their bowes, except they staid first their bowes vpon the ground, and the ground being so slipperie that they coulde haue no perfect fo-ting: whilest they were preparing themselues to shoote, their enemies were come amongest them. Then euery man fledde from the order that Porus had giuen, as it chaunceth often tymes amongest troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule then the capytaines appoint-ment. For in so manie partes as their armie was deuyded, so manye generalles became a-mongest them. Some would ioyne all theyr battailes in one, other would haue them deui-ded. Some willed to stay, and other to go for-wards, and enclose their enemies about: There was no generall consultation amongst them. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a fewe (with whome shame preuayled more then feare) assembled such togither, as were dispers-kled abroade, and went forwardes agaynst hys enemies, setting his Elephantes in the fronte of the battayle. They put the Macedons in feare, troublyng with their vnwonted crye, not onelye the horses that naturallye doe feare them, but also amazed the menne, and distur-bed theyr order. In so much that they which a litle before thought them-selues victors, looked about which way to flie, and saue themselues: Whych thyng when Alexander perceyued,

he

he sent against the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, that were men light armed, and apter to skirmish a far off, then to fight hand to hand. They gaue the Elephantes and their gouernours much adoe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their darts, and arrowes that they bestowed amongest them: And the Phalanx came constantly forwardes against them that were in feare. But such as preased ouer forward in fighting with the Elephantes, procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to death with their feete, were an example to other, not to be ouer hastie in aduenturing themselues. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunkes called Proboscides, toke men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully, till the day was farre spent: the souldiours sometyme flying from the Elephants, and sometyme pursuing after them, vntill that with a certaine kinde of croked weapons called Copidæ (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vpon the legges. Those the Macedons had right aptly deuised: for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnproued. Finally, the Elephāts wearied with wounds, with their violent strugling, did cast their gouernours to the earth, and tare them in pieces: for they were put in such

feare,

feare, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driuen out of the battell like shæp. Porus beyng forsaken of the more part of his men ceased not to cast dartes, whereof hæ had plenty prepared vpon his Elephant, amongest them that flocked about him, whereby he woũding many, by reason he lay opẽ to euery mans blowe, was layd at on all partes, till he had receiued ix. woundes behinde and before, through the which he bled so much, that he had no power to cast any more, but for feblenesse they fell out of his hands. The Elephant also which he did ride vpon, pricked forwards with fury, made a great disturbance amongst the Macedons, vntill that his gouernour seing the king so faint, that he let fall his dartes, and to be almost past his remembrance, stirred the beast to flie away, whom Alexander followed in all that he might: but his horse that was thrust in with many woundes, fell downe dead vnder him: Wherefore whiles he was about to change, and take another, was cast farre behind.

In the meane season Taxiles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhort him that he should not be so obstinate to prœue the extremitie, but rather yéeld himselfe vnto the victor. But he notwithstandyng ỹ his strength was nére past, and his blood failed, yet stirred vp at a known voyce, sayd, that he knew him to be the brother of Taxiles, a traitour to his king and his countrey, and with that worde

tæke a dart which by chaunce was not fallen away, and threw it so at Taxiles brother, that it passed through the middest of his brest vnto his backe. And hauing shewed this last proofe of his manhood, fled agayne more fast then before. But when the Elephant, through many woundes that he had receiued, fainted in like sort, then he stayed, and turned his footemen towardes his enemies that pursued. By that tyme Alexander was come neere him, who vnderstandyng the wilfulnesse of Porus, willed none to be spared that made resistaunce, Whereupon euery man threw dartes agaynst Porus, and such footemen as stode in his defence: wherewith at length he was oppressed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. Then the Indian which was his gouernour, thinking that Porus desired to haue lighted, caused the beast after his accustomed maner to bend towards the earth, which submittyng himselfe, all the rest as they were taught, bowed downe their bodies likewise, which was the cause of Porus takyng, and of the rest. When Alexander sawe Porus body vppon the grounde, caused hym to bee spoyled, thinking he had bene dead, and diuers ranne about hym to pull of his harneys, and his Vestnre: which thyng when the Elephant sawe, he beganne to defend his maister, runnyng vppon his spoylers, and went about to lyfte hym agayne vppon his backe: whereupon they all setting vpon the Elephant,

slue

slue him, and laid Porus in a cart. Whom whē Alexander did behold, lifting vp his eyes, & mo-ued with no hatred, but with compassion sayd vnto him:

What mischiefe and madnesse was in thy mynde, hearing of the fame of mine actes, to hazard the battell with me, and my power, seeing Taxiles was so nere an example of the clemencie that I vse to such as submit themselues?

To whom he made answere:

Forsomuch (quoth he) as I am demanded a question, I will answere as freely as I am spoken vnto. Knowing mine owne strength, and not hauyng yet proued thine, I thought no man of greater power thē my selfe, but now the successe of this battel hath declared thee to be mightier: And yet therein I do impute to my selfe not a litle felicitie, that I haue wonne the second place, and am next vnto thee.

He was asked moreouer his opinion, after what maner he thought good the victory should be vsed.

Vse it (quoth he) after such sorte, as this dayes fortune shall put in thy mynd, wherein there hath bene sufficient proofe shewed, how transitorie the felicitie of man is.

This admonishment auailed him more, thē if he had submitted himselfe, or made any suite. For when Alexander sawe the greatnesse of his courage, and his heart so voyde of feare, that it could not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onely to giue him his life, but also honorably to entertaine him. For so long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he toke no lesse care of his curing, then if he had fought in his quarell. And when he was once healed (contrary

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to that which all men loked for) he receiued him among the number of his friendes, and enlarged his kingdome greater thē before. There was nothing in Alexanders nature more perfect, or more constant, then that he would euer haue vertue in admiration, when it was such, that it deserued true praise and glory: and specially when he saw the same in his enemy. For when it chanced in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thinking that their fame might bee a destruction to his owne greatnesse, which he euer thoght to grow greater, as they were of greatnesse that he subdued.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



Lexander reioicing in so notable a victory, whereby he sawe the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offred vp sacrifice vnto the sunne: and to cause hys souldiours to be more willyng to goe forwardes in finishing the rest of ỳ wars, assembled them together, and (after he had commended their doyngs) declared how in that latter battell, they had defeated and broken ỳ force of all the Indians power, and should find from thenceforth nothing but a plentifull praie. For he sayd that in the countrey whereunto he was going, the riches chiefly remained that was so much spoken of throughout the whole worlde, In respect whereof, the Persians were but vile and baggage, and that occasion was now giuen them, not onely to fill their owne houses, but also all Macedonia and Greece with perles, with precious stones, with gold and with iuory. The souldiours being desirous both of riches & glory, because they had neuer founde hys wordes vaine,

vaine, promised him to do whatsoeuer he would haue them: whereupon he dimissed them full of good hope, and set them about the making of shippes, to the intent that hauing ouer-runne all Asia, he might visite the Ocean sea, that was in the ende of all the world. The mountaynes next at hand were plentifull of timber to make shippes withall, in cutting downe whereof, the Macedons found Serpentes of such bignesse, as they had not seene before, and also Rhinoceroles, beastes that be seldome found in any other place, which name was giuen to them by the Greekes: for in the Indian language they are otherwise called. Alexander builded a citie vpon either side of the riuer of Hidaspis, which once performed, he gaue to euery one of his captains a crowne of gold, and a thousand pieces of gold besides: preferring and rewarding euery other, according to their qualitie, degree, and deseruing. Abiasares, which had sent Embassadours vnto Alexander before the battaile fought with Porus, sent then Embassadours to him againe, offring to doe all things that he would appoint, so that he might keepe his body at libertie: for he desired not to lyue, except he might remaine a king: & he thought himselfe vnmeet to raigne, after he had bene once a captiue. He signified againe to Abiasares, y if his comming should bee grieuous, he would not sticke to visite him in person. Hauing thus vãquished Porus, & passed the riuer of Hidaspis, he went forward into the

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inward partes of India, which was a countrey ful of great woods, and high trées, the aire very holesome and temperate, the shadow of the trées mitigating the heate of the sunne, and the plenty of springs kéeping the ground moist: There were also many serpents séene, whose scales glistered like gold: There was nothing more dangerous then the poison procéeding from them: for immediatly vpon the stinging, death followed, till such time as the inhabiters of the countrey shewed a remedy. From thence through desertes they came vnto the great riuer of Hiarotis, whereunto there ioyned a great Wood, which hauing such trées as are not wont to be séene in other places, as also full of wilde Pecockes. Alexander remouing his campe from thence, wanne a towne by assault, and takyng pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After that he came to a great citie (after the maner of that countrey) which was both well walled, & also enuironed about with a marrisse. The inhabitants came forth against Alexander, & ioyning their cartes together in a front, (wherein their custome was to fight) they profered hym the battell. Some occupied darts, some speares, and other ares, and with great agilitie leaped to & fro, to their cartes, when either they would relieue their fellowes that were weary of fighting, or els succour, or rescue such as were in distresse. This vnwonted kinde of fightyng put the Macedons at the first in feare, specially being

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ing hurt a farre of by their enemies, and not able to come to hand stripes with them. But after they had considered their disordered maner, they estæmed not their force, but enclosed their enemies about, and thrust them in with pikes, and the soner to deseate them, they cut ỹ bands wherewith the cartes were tied, to seperate thẽ asunder. When they had after that maner lost viij.C. of their men, they fled againe into the citie, which the next day the Macedones did win by assault. Certaine there were that saued thẽselues by flying, which seeing the Citie lost, swimmed ouer the water, and filled all the townes thereabout with feare. They declared of what inuincible force their enemies were of, iudging them in respect of their power, rather Gods then men. When Alexander had gotten that citie, he sent Perdicas with a part of hys army to destroy the countrey, and committyng another part to Eumenes for the subduyng of such as would not become obedient, he with the rest of his power came vnto a strong city, which was the refuge of all the countrey thereabout. Notwithstanding that the inhabitaunts sent to Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuertheless for ỹ war, by reason of a sedition which rose amongst them, ỹ made thẽ to be of diuers opinions: Some would rather haue endured any extremitie, thẽ to yeld, & other thought they wer not able to make resistãce, & whilest they differed so in opinions, & made no common consultation

amongest themselues: Such as held opinion to yéeld vp the city, opened the gates, and receiued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had iust cause of displeasure against ỹ contrary faction, yet he pardoned them all, and receiuing their pledges, remoued toward the next city. When the Indians that stod vpō the walles sawe the pledges that were brought before the army, whom they perceiued to be of the same nation, desired communication with thē, who declaring both the kings clemency, and his force, did moue them to render vp their Citie, whose example the rest of the cities did follow. From thence he came into the city of Sophites, which is a nation (as the Indians thinke) most excelling in wisedome, best gouerned, and that haue the best customs amongst them. The children that be there gotten, are not nourished, and brought vp according to the will of their parēts, but by the order of such as haue the charge committed vnto them to view the state of the Infants. If they perceiue any not apte to become actiue, or els wanting any of their lims, they cause them straight wayes to be killed. They vse to marry without any respect of kinred they come of, or the greatnesse of parentage, makyng no choise, but in the shape of the body, which is the thing ỹ is onely estéemed amongst thē. The king himselfe was within the chiefe city of the country, against ỹ which Alexander brought his power. The gates were shut, & no man appéered

in armes vpon the wals, to make any defence: wherefore he stood in doubt a great while, whether ỳ city was abandoned, or els ỳ the inhabiters had kept themselues secret for some policie. Whiles he remained in ỳ expectation, sodainly the gate was opened, & the king (which in goodlines of person excelled all the rest) came forth wt his two sonnes. He ware a garment of gold & purple empaled, that couered the calf of his leg, & the soles he ware on his fete were set with precious stones. All his armes were garnished with perles, & had hãging at his eares two precious stones which were excellent both for bigneſſe and brightnes: and there he had a scepter of gold set with precious stones (called Berilli) which he (after his salutation made) with humble submissiõ deliuered vnto Alexander, yelding both himselfe, his children, and his kingdom into his hands. There were in that countrey very notable dogs for ỳ hunting of wild beasts, which specially were giuen to be eagre vpon the Lion. The king therfore to shew their force & propertie vnto Alexander, put 4. of them vnto a great lion, which straight-waies caught him fast. Thẽ one which was accustomed to that office, toke one of those dogs by the leg to plucke him from the Lion, and because he would not lose hys hold, cut of his leg with a sword. But when the dogge stucke neuertheleſſe vnto his game, hee was cut asunder in peece-meale, till such tyme as he died, hauing his teeth still fastened in the

Lions flesh, such a feruentnes of nature had wrought in those beasts, as we vnderstood by ỹ report. Somtime I am enforced to write things that I can scarsly beleeue: For I neither dare affirme the things whereof I doubt, nor cõceale such things as I haue receiued for trueth. Alexander leauing the king within his owne kingdome, came vnto the riuer of Hispasis, & there ioyned with Ephestion, which had subdued the countrey thereabout. One Phegelas was king of the next nation, who commanding his subiectes to continue in tilling of the groũd as they were wont to do, met Alexander with rich presents, refusing nothing that was commaunded him. When he had taried with him two dayes, and was determined the third day to haue passed the riuer, he found therein great difficultie by reasõ that the streame was so large, and full of great stones. He staied therfore a great while to be more fully aduertised of the state of those countries, and of al such things as were necessary for him to know. He vnderstood by Phegelas how beyond that riuer there stood a desert of x. dayes iourny, & next to that desert, the riuer of Ganges, which was the greatest riuer in al the Orient. He shewed that beyond Ganges there inhabited two nations called Gangaridans and Pharasians, whose king was called Aggrames, which vsed to come to the field with 20000 horsmen, 200000. footmen, 2000. armed waggons, and 3000. Elephants, which were counted

ted the greatest terror. Those things seemed incredible vnto Alexander, and therefore enquired of Porus, if the things were true that had bene told him. He confirmed Phegelas report cõcerning the force of the nation. But he said ỹ kyng was not come of noble blood, but of ỹ baselt sort of men, whose father being a Barbour, & with great paine getting his daily liuing, came in fauour with the Quéene, who brought him to haue all the doings about the king her husband, which was afterwards slaine by their treason. Then he vnder colour to become tutor vnto the children, vsurped the kingdome to himselfe, and putting the children to death, did beget him that was then king, being in hatred & disgrace of the people, as one that followed more the maners of his fathers former estate, then such as did beseeme the dignitie of a Prince.

When Alexander heard Porus affirme this matter, he became in great trouble of mynde, not that he regarded the multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephantes: But he feared the greatnesse of the riuers, and the situation of the countrey, so difficult to enter vpon. He thought it a hard enterprise to seeke out nations so farre inhabiting in the vttermost bounds of the world. Yet on the other side the grædinesse of glory, and the vnsatiable desire of fame, made no place to seeme too far, nor no aduẽture to be ouer hard. He doubted also that the Macedõs which had passed so many countries,

and were waren aged with warres, would not be content to follow him ouer so many riuers, and against so many difficulties of nature lying in their way. For he iudged, that since they abounded, and were so laden with spoile, they would rather seeke to enioy such things as they had gotten, thē to trauell any further in getting of more, he could not thinke the same appetite to be in his souldiours, that was in himselfe. For he compassed in his minde how to get the Empire of the whole world, into which matter he had but made his entrie: where as they wearied with trauaile, and thinkyng to haue past all perill, lōked to enioy with spæde, the fruite of all their labour: yet for all that, his affection ouercame reason. For he assembled his armie together, and spake vnto them after this maner.

I am not ignorant (my souldiours) howe that there be now many rumours sowed amongest you by the Indians, purposely to put you in feare. But the vanity of their lying is not so new a thing, that it is able now to deceiue you. The Persians after that maner would haue made both the streights of Silicia, & the plaines of Mesopotamia terrible vnto you: yea, and put you in feare of the Riuers of Tygre and Euphrates: and yet we waded ouer the one of them, and passed the other by a bridge. The fame neuer reporteth things truely, but maketh all things greater then they be in dæde. Euen our glory though it be growen to a certaine perfection, yet it is more in fame then in effect. Which of you of late did thinke that you should haue bene able to endure the Elephantes, shewyng a farre off like Castles? Who thought I could haue passed the Riuer of Hidaspis, when it was reported to

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much greater then it was: We should long agoe (my souldioures) haue fled out of Asia, if tales could haue caused vs to turne our backes. Thinke you that the number of Elephantes bee greater then you haue seen herdes of beastes in other places: seeyng they bee so rare in the world, and so straunge to be taken: there must needes be much more difficultie in the makyng of them tame. The same vanitie that hath reported them to you to be of such number, hath numbred also their horsemen and footemen. Concerning the Riuers, the more broad they bee, the more gently they runne. For such as be narow and of small breadth, runne alwaies with the most vehement streame, whereas contrarywise, the broade riuers passe their courses more mildely. But you will peraduenture say that all the peril is at the shore, where your enemies shall waite for your arriuall. Whatsoeuer the Riuer be, the hazard is all one at the landyng. But imagine that all those things were true. Whether is it the greatnesse of the beastes, or the multitude of men that put you in feare: As cõcernyng the Elephantes, we haue had experience of them of late, how much more rigorously they rage against their owne partie, then agaynst vs, what should we estæme them, but onely abate the greatnes of their bodies, with such weapons as we haue prepared for the purpose: What matter is it whether they be of the like number that Porus had, or whether they be foure thousand, seeyng we perceyue, that when two or three be once wounded, the rest bende themselues to flie away:

And forasmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but few, when there be so many thousands together, thẽ they must needs be a great impediment one to another, and breede a wonderfull confusion amongest themselues: they bee so vnwieldy by reason of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to passe forwardes, nor yet to flye. I haue alwayes so little estæmed them, that when I haue had plenty of that kinde, I would neuer vse them: knowyng very well that they be more dangerous to such as occupy them, then they be to their enemies. But peraduenture it

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is the multitude of their horsemen and footemen that doe moue you: were you neuer wont to fight against such numbers: or is it the first tyme that you haue encountered with disordered multitudes? The Riuer of Granike is a witnesse how inuincible the power of the Macedones is agaynst any multitude. And so is Silicia that flowed with the Persians bloud, and Arbella, whose plaines be strawed with their bones. It is ouerlate to count the number of your enemies, after that with your victorie you haue made Asia desert. When ye passed ouer Hellespont, you should then haue considered your small number. Now the Scithians doe follow vs, we haue aide at hand from the Bactrians, and we supply our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is not in them, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force: I reserue your manhood about me, as a pledge and assurāce of my actes and doinges. So long as I may stand in the field amongst you, I will neither waigh my selfe, nor mine enimies. Do you but shew an apparance, that there is hope in you and cheerefulnes, we are not now newly entred into our trauails, but haue passed all our labours, being come to the rising of the sunne, & to the Ocean sea, except our owne slouth be our impediment. From thence hauing subdued the world, we shall returne as victors into your countrey. Doe not you as these negligent husbandmen, that lose their fruit after it is once ripe. The rewardes of our iourney be greater then our perill. The countrey that we goe vnto, is riche and of no force, thither I purpose to bring you, both to winne glory, and to get you spoyle. For worthy you are to cary such riches into your coūtry, which be so plentifull there, that the sea doth cast them vp agaynst the shore.

You be men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothyng vnproued, nor nothyng vndone for feare: I desire and pray you by the glory ye haue gottē, in which ye exceede the state of men, and by all that I haue deserued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remayne as inuincible, that ye will not forsake me, purposing to visite the ende of the worlde, me I say that haue

bene

bæne brought vp as a child amongst you. I will make no mention how I am your king: In the rest of thinges I haue commaunded you: let mee nowe intreate you in this one point. It is I that make this requeste vnto you, which neuer commanded you any thing, but I put my selfe formost in the aduenture, and daunger, and which oftentimes in mine owne person haue bæne the formost in defence of the battaile: take not the victorie out of my hands, with the which (if enuy bee not the let) I shall become equall in glorie both to Hercules, and Bacchus. Giue your assent to mine intercession, and at length breake your obstinate silence. Where is your shouting become that was wont to bæ a declaration of your chærefulnes? Where be the countenances of my cuntrey men? I know not my souldiers, & it sæmeth that I am not knowne of you. Me thinks I crie to your deafe eares in vaine, and goe about in waste to stirre vp your vnwylling and vnmooueable mindes.

Notwithstanding all these words, they hong downe their heades towards the earth, & persecuered still in silence. Then he proceeded.

I know not (quoth he) wherin I haue vnwitting offended you, that you will not once vouchsafe to looke mee in the face. I sæme to be solitarie and in a deserte. Is there none of you that I speake vnto will answere mee? Is there none at the least will denie my request? What is the thing that I requyre? euen your own glorie, and your owne encrease. Where be they nowe that I sawe not long ago contending who shoulde take vp their king, when hee was wounded? And nowe you leaue me alone, ye forsake mee, ye betray me to myne enemies. But I will not leaue mine enterpryse though I go alone. Put me forwards to those ryuers, to those beastes, and to those nations, the very names of whom yee feare so much. The Scithians and Bactrians shall go with mee, which of late were mine enemies, & nowe bee my souldiers. I had rather die, then be a king to be ruled, and at other mennes appointment. Depart you home, go I say, and trymph of the abãdoning of your king. For I will either obteine here the victorie, wher

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of you haue dispeyred, or els die a death that shall be honourable.

Notwithstanding all that he had saide, there was not one souldier that would opē his mouth to speake, but stode wayting that some of the Princes and great Capitaines shoulde declare vnto the king theyr states, and howe that there remained not in them any obstinate refusall of the warres, but that they were exhausted wyth wounds, and wearyed with continuall trauaile that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stode thus astonyed and afrayde in silence, and loking vpon the ground, there began first a whispering and rumour amongest them, and afterwardes a lamentation: and by litle & litle they beganne more earnestly to shew their dolour, the teares falling from their eyes. The kinges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able neyther to kéepe himselfe from teares, but the whole assemblye burst out into an excessiue wéeping. And when the rest were at a stay to speake, Cenon toke vpon him to presse forwardes towardes the Judgement seate, where Alexander stode, signifyng that he had somewhat to say. When the souldiers sawe him pull his helmet from his heade, (for so it was the custom to speake vnto ỹ king) they began to requyre him that he would vtter the cause of the whole army. Then Cenon began on this wise.

The Goddes defend our mindes from all wycked thoughts

thoughtes, as I doubt not but they will: there are none of your souldiers, but of the same mynd towards you, that they haue beene in times past, whether it bee your pleasure to commaund them to fight, and to hazard themselues, or with their bloud commend theyr name vnto the posteritie. And if you will needes persever and go forwardes in your determination, though wee bee vnarmed, naked, and without bloud, wee wyll eyther come after you, or go before, as you shall thynke expedient: But if you will bee contente to heare your souldiers griefes, and complayntes that be not fayned, but expressed by force of verie necessitie, I humbly beseech you then, that you will vouchsafe fauourably to heare them, that constantly haue followed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet readie to followe whersoeuer you will appoint. O Alexander, with the greatnes of your actes yee haue not ouercome onely your enemies, but also vs your owne souldiers. Whatsoeuer mannes mortalitie is able to fulfill, that is performed by vs, hauing passed ouer so many Seas, and Countreyes, better knowne to vs then to the very inhabitours thereof, now remayning in maner in the vttermost ende of the worlde. And yet for all this your purpose is to passe into an other worlde, and seeke out an India vnknowne to the Indians. Yee couette to plucke out the wilde beastes, and serpents out of their dennes and lurking places, mynding to search further with your victorie, then the Sunne hath visited with his beames, which truely is an imagination meete for the greatnes of your heart, but farre exceeding our capacitie & power. Your manhood and courage is alwaies in encrease, but our force groweth in declination. Behold our bodies destitute of bloud, pierced with so many wounds & rotted with so many scarres. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armour is wasted, & consumed: Wee weare our apparaile after the Persians manner, because our countrey garmentes doe fayle vs, wee are degenerate out of our owne fashion, & growne into a strange habite. What is hee that hath his corselet, or horse particular to himselfe? Cause it to be enquyred howe many remaine amongest vs, and what

remai-

remaineth to euery man of the spoile. Being the victors of all men, of all men we are the poorest. It is not aboundance nor excesse that troubleth vs, but the verie warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, and yet you meane to put forth this goodly armye of yours naked vnto those beastes: The multitude of whom though the Indians purposely do increase, yet of their vayne report we may perceiue the number to be great. But if yee bee vtterly determined to passe yet further into India, the countrey that lyeth Southward is not so desert as the other, which beeing subdued, ye may passe to that Sea, which nature hath appoynted to abound in the world. Why doe you seeke that glorie a farre off, which remaineth to you ready at your hande? Here the Ocean Sea doth meete vs: and except your mind be to wander, we are come to the place predestinate vnto vs. I had rather speake these thinges before you, then behind your backe: for I seeke not to winne fauour of the men of war that stand here about me, but desire you should rather heare their minds expressed in plain words, then to heare their griefe and their grudge vttered in muttring and in murmur.

When Cenon had made an end of his tale, there rose a crie and lamentation, which with confused voices euerie where called Alexander their father, and their Lorde. Then the other Capitaines (and specially the elders, which by reason of their age had the more honest excuse, and greater authoritie) made the like request, so that the king was not able to chastise them being in that obstinacie, nor mittigate them being so moued. Therefore vncerteine what to do, he leapt from the iudgement place, & commanding his lodging to be shut in, admitted no man but such as were accustomed about his person. Two daies he consumed in his anger, and the

thyrd day he came forth amongst his men, causing 12. Altars of square stone there to bee sette vp, as a monument of his iourney, & wylled the trenches of his campe to be made wyder, & the places where the souldiers laye to bee enlarged greater, then serued for the bignes of their bodies: thinking by the forme and shape of things thus increased, to leaue a deceiptfull wonder vnto his posteritie. From thence he returned againe by the way he had passed before, & encamped vpon the ryuer of Acesines: Cenon chanced there to die, whose death the king lamented: but yet he said that for so few daies he had made ouer long an Oration: as though he alone should haue returned into Macedon. By that time the Nauy of shippes which he had appointed to bee made, stode in readines aflote: and Memnon in the meane season brought him out of Thrace a supply of six thousand horsemen, and besides frō Harpalus seuen thousand footemen, with twentie fiue thousande armours that were wrought with siluer and golde, which hee distributed amongst his men; and commaunded the olde to be burned, purposing to passe vnto the Ocean sea with a thousand shippes. But before his departure, hee reconciled togither by affinitie Porus, and Taxiles, betwixt whom there was a newe discorde risen vpon theyr olde hatreds. Hee had obteined of them great aide in the making and furnishing of his Nauie. During the time hee was about that businesse, hee bu ded

there two Cities: wherof he called the one Nicea, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was deade. He gaue order that his Elephants and carriage should passe by land, and he sayled downe the riuer, proceeding euerie day about xl. furlonges, so that he might euer lande his power in such places as he thought conuenient. At length he came into a countrey whereas the Riuer of Hidaspis and Accsines do ioine togither, and do run from thence into the boundes of a nation called Sobions. They declared ỹ their predecessors came of Hercules army, which being left there sicke, inhabited the countrey. They were clothed in beastes skinnes, vsing clubs for their weapons: and though they had lefte the customes of the Græks, yet there appeared many things among them, that declared from whence they were descended. Here the king landed and marched two hundred and ten furlongs within the countrey, which hee wasted: and toke the chiefest Cittie in the same. There were fortie thousand men that stood in defence against him vpon a Riuers side, but he passed the water, putting them vnto flight, and after they fled into the Citie, he wan it by force. The children were slaine, and the rest solde as slaues. He assaulted another Citie, where hee was repulsed with the great force of the defendants, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitantes sawe that he continued still the siege, dispeyring of their sauegard, they

set

set fire on their houses, and burned themselues, theyr Wiues and their chyldren. Which fire when the Macedons quenched, and they kindeled the same agayne, it seemed a straunge contention, the Citizens to destroy theyr owne Citie, theyr enemies labouring to saue it: ỹ wars so contrariously chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature. The Castle was saued, wher in a guarrison was left. Alexander went about this Castle by water, which was enuyzoned wᵗ three of the greatest Riuers in all India, Ganges except, Indus passing vpon the North side, & Acesines running into Hidaspis vpon ỹ south. Where these Riuers met, the waue rose lyke surges of the Sea, being full of mudde and filth, which by the course of the water were dryuen vnto the sides: for al that the Riuers are broad yet the chanels are but narrow, wherin ỹ shippes must passe. The waues did rise so high and thycke, breaking sometime vppon the puppes of the shippes, and somety me vppon the one side, that the shippemen began to vaile theyr sayles. But they were so troubled with feare, and the vyolent swiftnes of the streame, that they could not order their tackling, so that two of the greatest shippes were drowned within sight: And the smaller vessels which were as vnable to bee gouerned, were dryuen vppon the shore wythout any harme. The king chaunced vppon the place whereas the waues went highest, wherewith his ship was so tossed and trauersed, that

the helme could not direct his course. Wherfore the king doubting of drowning, pulled of hys garment ready to caste himselfe into the water, and his frendes did swim nere thereabout ready to receiue him, it appéering to him doubtfull, which perill was greatest, either to swim, or to continue still aboord. But the Mariners laboured wonderfully with their oares, adding al the force ý lay in mans power through the waues, by whose importunate trauaile, the water seemed to deuide asunder, and to giue place: so that at length they haled out of the surges, and yet not able to bring the shippe to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appéering that ý ships and the streame had fought a battaile together. Alexander hauing escaped this perill, set vp to euerie Riuer an altar, whereupon he offred due sacrifice, and that doone, past forwardes xxx. furlongs. From thence he came into the countrey of the Sudracans and Mallians, which accustomed to be at warre amongst themselues: then for their owne defence ioined in societie. They assembled in armes to the number of ix. M. footmen, x. M. horsemen, and ix. C. armed waggons, wherof when the Macedons were aduertised, which beléeued that they had passed all perilles, séeing a fresh warre arise, with a new fierce nation, were amazed with a sodeine feare, and began againe w̄ seditious words to reproue their king. They alledged that he would lately haue com-

compelled them to passe the Riuer of Ganges, for to make warre vpon those nations lying beyonde ỹ same: which enterprise though it were lefte, they had not for all that ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a newe labour, being put forth amongst these wilde nations, to make the Oceean sea open to him with their bloud, and to be drawne beyonde the sunne and the starres. They were compelled (they saide) to visite those places, which nature coueted to remoue from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their new armour, there were newe enemies rayled vp, whome if they shoulde vanquish and put to flight, they could not see what benefite they should receiue thereby, but onely darknes and obscuritie of the ayre, which alwaies couered the deepe sea, replenished with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immœuable waters, wheras nature decaying, she failed of her force. The king litle moued in his owne respect, was greatly troubled wyth those passions of his souldiers. Wherefore he assembled them altogither, declaring of how feeble a force those nations were, whome they feared so much which onely remained, & were impediment vnto them (hauing passed ouer so many countreys) to attaine both to the full of their trauaile, and to the ende of the world. He shewed how that in respect of their former feare, hee had left his enterprise ouer Ganges, with ỹ conquest of the nations inhabiting beyond ỹ same,

and had directed his iourney this way, whereas their glorie should be as great, and theyr perill much lesse, and wherein they had not farre to trauaile, seeing the Ocean was in maner wythin sight: the ayre wherof he felt blowing in hys face. He required them therfore that they would not enuy the glorie he had sought by passing the boundes of Hercules, and Bacchus, seeing that with so little paine they might giue vnto theyr king perpetuall fame & immortalitie. In doing whereof they should depart out of India as victourers, whereas otherwise they should seem to flie away from thence. It is the propertie of euerie multitude, and specially of men of warre, to be drawne with euerie litle motion: amongest whom, as sedition doth soone arise, so it is soone pacified. There was neuer a more chearefull crie made of any army before, then the souldiers then made vnto Alexander, which willed hym to leade them whither soeuer hee would, and make himselfe equall in glorie to them, whose actes he did counterfeite. Alexander reioycing in the willingnes that appeered in them, remoued streightwaies towardes his enemies, that were the stoutest people of the Indians. They prepared themselues stoutly for the warres, and chose for their Capitaine one of the Oridracans that was of an approued manhood: Who encamping at the foot of a mountaine, made fyres all abroade, to cause his number to appeere the greater, and went about in vaine to feare the

Macedons when they were in reſt, by making of Alarms, with their cries & maner of howling When the day appeared, Alexander hauing an aſſured truſt to win the victorie, commaunded the ſouldiers to put on their armour, and chéerfully to fall in order of battaile. But the Indiãs, (whether it were for feare, or by reaſon of ſome ſedition riſen amongſt them) ſodeinely fled into the deſert mountaines, whom Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, toke their cartage. After this he came to a Citie of the Oridracans, whereunto a great number were fled, as well in truſt of the ſtrength of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexander was about to make the approch, Demophõ his diuiner admoniſhed him, that he ſhould eyther defer the matter, or els not meddle with it at al: for that there appeered ſigns that his life ſhould bee in perill. When Alexander had heard his wordes, he beheld him and ſaid.

If any man ſhould interrupt thée when thou art buſie about thy ſcience, or conſidering of the intrails: ſhould not he ſeeme vnto thée troublous and his comming vngrateful? Yes truely (quoth he.) So art ỹ now vnto me (quoth Alexander.) For hauing matters in hande of more moment then ỹ entrails of beaſts: I find no greater impediment then a ſuperſtitious diuiner. And as ſone as he had ſpokẽ ỹ word, he cauſed them to reare vp ladders, & whileſt others ſticked & ſtaid at the matter, he mounted vp the wall.

The same was very narrowe in the toppe, not with loopes (as is commonly vsed) but enclosed with one whole & continuall battlement rounde about, which caused it to bee the more harde to scale. Alexander therfore hauing no conuenient rome to stande at his defence, stayed vppon the wall, receyuing vppon his target, the darts that were cast at him from all partes. His souldiers coulde not get vnto him: they were so beaten from the walles by the multitude of shotte that came from aboue. Yet at length when by theyr staying they sawe theyr king giuen vp into the enemies handes, shame ouercame theyr imminent daunger. But theyr ouer much haste was too great a lette, and the cause why they coulde not come to the rescue of theyr kyng. For whilest euery man coueted to get vp ỹ ladders, they were so sore laden, that they brake asunder, and such as were mounted vpon them fell downe againe, deceiuing Alexander of his onely hope: so that in the sight of all the army, hee stoode destitute as in a deserte, without anye ayde or succour, and had wearyed his left arme (with the which he helde his Target) in receyuing the blowes. His frendes cryed vnto him ỹ he should leape downe vnto them, who stoode in a readines to receyue him. But hee giuing no eare vnto them, vndertoke an incredible enterprise, and such a one as hath not bẽn heard of before, deseruing rather fame of rashnesse, then of any commendation that might sound to his glorie.

For

For with a full leape he did caſt himſelfe into ỹ Citie hat was full of his enemies, whereas he could ſcarſely haue any hope to fight for his life, or in dying to bée reuenged vppon his enemyes. For before he could recouer his fæte agayne, it was likely eyther he ſhould haue bœne ſlaine, or taken alyue. But hee by chaunce ſo conucied hys bodie, that he fell vppon his fæte, and ſtanding, encountred with ſuch as came againſt him: Fortune ſo prouiding, that hee could not be encloſed about, by reaſon of an old træ, which (as it had bœne of purpoſe) ſtoode nœre vnto the wall, whoſe broade boughes full of leaues couered him from aboue, and the greatneſſe of the ſtocke kept his enemies from comming on hys backe, and vppon the forefront he receyued the dartes that were caſt againſt him with his target. For though there were neuer ſo many that contended with him from a far off, yet durſt no man there come nœre vnto him: & the boughes kept off the arrowes and the darts ſo well as his target did. In this extremitie the greatnes of Alexanders fame, chiefely fought for him, & nerte deſperation: a great encouragement for a man to die honeſtly. At length through the multitude of his enemies that continually flocked about him, both his target was laden with ſhotte, his helmet was broken with ſtones, and his legges faynted and fayled vnder him, by continual trauayle: Which thing when his enemies perceyued, they tooke leſſe regarde to themſelues,

and drew more neere him, of whom he receiued two with his sworde, in such sort, that they fell downe dead at his feete. And from that time forwardes none was so bolde to approch againe so neere him, but threw dartes, and shotte arrowes at him a farre off. He lay open to euerie mans blow: and yet (though it were with great pain) defended himselfe vppon his knees, vntill such time as an Indian shot an arrowe at hym that was two cubits long, which a litle aboue hys right thigh passed through his corselet: By reason of that wound he shed so much bloud, that he let his sword fal, as one at the point of death. And therewith became so faint, that he had not strength to plucke out the arrowe. Then the Indian which had hurt him, came with great ioy to spoile his bodie. But when Alexander felt his enemies hand vppon him: moued (as it is to be thought) with despite, to receiue an infamie to that extremitie, called again his spirits that were passing away, and with his sworde thrust his enemy (being vnarmed) through the bodie. When hee had thus slaine two of his enemies which lay deade before him, all the reste stode amased a far of. Then Alexander, desiring before his last breath shoulde faile to bee kylled fighting, began to rayse his bodie vpon his target: Yet his strength would not serue him thereunto, and therfore reached at a bough that hung ouer his head, coueting thereby to haue raysed vp himselfe.

But

But his power not suffising thereunto, hee fell downe againe vpon his knees, and by a signe made with his hande, challenged his enemies, if any of them durst come and match with him. At the last Peucestes repulsing his enemies vpon another part of the Citie, got into ỹ towne, and coasting along the walles, came vnto the place where the king was. When Alexander espied him, though he had no hope to liue, yet he toke his comming for a comfort to his death, & for all his feeblenes began to reare vp himselfe. Then came Timeus, and within a while Leonatus, and after them Aristonus. When it was once published amongst the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the walles, they lefte their defence in other places, and came flocking thither, whereas they fiercely assailed such as stode at defence of the kings person. Timeus, after that he had fought notably, and receyued many woundes, was there slaine. Peucestes also, notwithstanding that hee was striken and wounded with their dartes, yet with his target he defended ỹ kings person, without any regard of himselfe. And Leonatus, whilest he resisted the Indians, that egerly pressed vppon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe vpon the necke, that he fell downe in a sowne at the kings feete. By ỹ time Peucestes became so feeble of his wo̅ds that he was not able to defend him any more. The last hope and refuge remayned in Aristonus, who also was so greeuously wounded,

that he could endure any longer the force of the Indians. In the meane season the fame was spread amongst the Macedons, that their king was slaine: which being a matter that shoulde haue put others in feare, stirred vp their hartes, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwards, ther was none that had respect of his owne perill, but aduentured to the wall, & breaking downe the same with pickaxes, entered at the breach, making slaughter of their enemies, of whom few stode at defence, but fledde away. There was neyther man nor woman spared, olde nor young. For they met none, but they iudged him to be the person that had slayn their king, and so at length with the murder of ỹ multitude their iust yre was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagines doe write, that Ptholomeus, which afterwardes became king of Egipt, was present in this encounter. But hee himselfe, that vsed not to denie any thing that stood with his owne glorie, did put in memorie howe that he was then absent, sent about another enterprise. Such a negligẽce was in them ỹ did write the antiquities of thinges, or els an ouer much credulitie, which is a fault no lesse then the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodging, the Surgeons cutte of the stale of the shafte in such wise, that they moued not the head that was within the flesh. And when they salue the wound bare, they perceiued hookes to bee within the arrowe heade, so that without

the

the destruction of his body, it could not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wound greater: And yet in that point they feared least aboundance of bloud should be impediment vnto them. For the head was very great, and it semed to be entred farre within his body. There was one Critobulus that was very cunning & most excellent amongst the Phisitions & Surgeons, and yet in so dangerous matter as this, he was fearefull and in doubt to set to hys handes, least if any thing should chaunce to the king otherwise then well, whilest he remayned in this cure, ỹ blame might light vpō his heade. Therefore when Alexander perceyued by his wepyng the feare he was in, and that through trouble of mynde, he loked pale in the face, said vnto him.

What is it that thou lookest for, or why doest thou stay in riddyng of me quickly out of this payne, at the best wayes by death, if thou canst not otherwise bryng it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncurable, why doest thou feare that any thing should be layd vnto thy charge?

When Critobulus heard his wordes, he either ceased or dissimuled his feare, and exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himselfe to be holden whilest they pulled out the arrow head that was within his flesh, for the least motion (he said) might be hurtfull vnto him. The king would not be holden, but held his body at a stay without mouing, in such sort as they appoynted him. When they had cut the wound wider,

and

and pulled out the head, there issued such abou̅dance of bloud, that the king fell in a swoune, & a dimme came ouer his sight, he stretched out himselfe, as one in the pangs of death. Thē they wrought all the meanes they could, to stanch the bloud, but when they perceiued it would not auaile, his friends began to cry out and lament, thinking verily that there had bēen no way but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his blēding, and recouering agayne his spirits, began to know them that stode about him. All that day and the night ensuing, the men of war stode in armes about the kings lodging, confessing that al their liues depended vpō his breath, and would not remoue from thence, before they vnderstod that he toke some rest. But when they knew that he was fallen on slēpe, they returned into the campe, bringing vnto the rest more certaine hope of his recouery. Alexander about the curing of his wound, remained there 7. dayes, and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spred abroad amongest the Indians, he caused two shippes to bē fastened together, and a lodging to be made for hym in the midst: so that remayning vpon the water, he might be sēene from both sides of the land of them that thought he had bēene dead. When the countrey men by the view of him perceiued he was on liue, they toke away the hope that some had conceiued vpon the false report. From thence he passed downe the streame, leauyng a

distance

distance betweene his ship, and the rest of the nauy, to the intent that with the beating of the oares, they should not disturbe him of hys rest which was necessary for his weake body. The fourth day after his embarking, he came into a countrey abandoned of the inhabiters, but yet plentiful both of corne and cattel, in which place he thought expedient both to rest himselfe, and his souldiours. It was a custome amongest the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiefe Princes and the great men watched about his lodging: Which maner beyng then obserued, they entered all together into the chãber where Alexander laye: at whose sodaine commyng hée was somewhat amazed, specially because they came all together. He thought they had brought hym some straunge tidinges, and enquired of them if they vnderstode of any new assembly of his enemies. Then Craterus which was appointed to speake in the behalf of them all, said to him after this maner.

Do you thinke that the comming of any enemies could make vs so carefull (though they were entered within your campe) as we be of your health and safegard, for of all that it is a thing which you regard lest? Though all nations doe conspire agaynst vs with their power, though the whole vniuersal world were filled full of men of warre, the Seas ouerspred wyth Shippes, and neuer so many strange beastes brought agaynst vs, it consisteth in the moment of your person to make vs victorers. But howe can any God promise, that you, which is the light and shinyng Starre of Macedonia, can bee of any continuaunce? Sayng that you bee so desirous to put your persone

in

in such manifest perils, not remēbring that with your death you drawe with you into ruine, the liues of so many of your countrymen? What is he that either can or doeth desire to liue after you? We are come so farre forth following your fortune and authoritie, that without you, none of vs is able to returne home agayne. If ye were yet contending with Darius for the kingdom of Persia, though we all would wish that you would not aduenture your person so perilously, yet in that case we could not meruail so much at your prompt audacitie: for where the danger and the benefite that ensueth thereof is equall, there the fruite is the greater, when the matter succedeth well, and the comfort is the more, when the thing chanceth euill. There is no man, not onely of vs that be your souldiours, but euen of such as were your enimies, hauing any vnderstanding of your greatnesse, that can suffer so base a towne, and of so litle fame, bee bought with the price of your lyfe. My heart shrinkes at the remembraunce of the thing, which we but late did see with our eyes. I am amazed to rehearse, how those vile handes were in a readinesse to haue caried the spoiles of your inuincible person, if fortune of her mercy had not preserued and deliuered you from their crueltie. So many of vs as were not able to follow you, were all traitors and forsakers of our Prince. And though it were a matter that lay not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs all with reproche, yet there is none that will refuse any punishment in the purgation of the matter. Notwithstanding we would require you that you would spare vs for some other purpose. We will gladly goe whither so euer ye will haue vs: we require warre be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battell though our fighting shall want fame, so that you wil reserue your selfe to those hazardes which be mete for the greatnes of your estate. How soone doth glory banish away and become of no prayse amongest such enemies as be of no reputation? And what thyng is there more vnworthy, then to consume the glory that ye haue gotten elsewhere amongest them, where as your glory can not appeare?

When

When Craterus had told his tale, Ptholome and the other spake to him in like effect, and required him all at once with weeping eyes, that he would not from thencefoorth bee any more so thirstie to winne prayse, but seeyng hee had got sufficient alredy, he should content himselfe therewithall, and regard his health & safegard, whereupon their vniuersall estate did depend. The king toke so gratefully their louyng affection, that he familiarly embraced euery one of them, and after he had willed them to sit, repeating more deepely their former communication, he said thus vnto them.

My faithfull louing friendes and countreymen, I giue and render to you my harty thanks, not onely for that ye preferre my sauegard before your owne, but also for that since the beginning of the warres, ye haue not pretermitted any thing wherein your loue and beneuolence might be shewed towardes me: so that I must confesse that my life was neuer so deare as it is now, because I desire long to enioy you. You be desirous to offer your selues to death in my quarel, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your handes. But your imagination and myne, is not after one sort. You peraduenture doe couet continually to enioy me, and to take of me continuall fruit. And I measure not my selfe by the continuance of my time, but by the greatnesse of my glory. I might haue beene content with the riches my father left me, and with rest of my body haue looked for with the boundes of Macedon, an age obscure and without any fame. And yet I cannot see that they which liue in slouth & idlenes, can assure themselues of their owne destinie. For euen such as esteeme felicitie in long life, be oftentimes preuented with sodaine death. But I which number not my yeeres, but my victories, haue liued long if I will waigh the giftes of fortune. For beginning mine

Empire

Empire Macedonia, I haue Greece in myne owne handes, I haue subdued Thrace and the Illyrians: I reigned ouer the Trybals and the Medians, possessing all Asia that lieth betwixt Hellespont and the red sea, and now am not farre from the ende of the world, the which I determined to visite, and to make open to mē a new nature, and a new world. I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and being but xxbiii. yeares olde, and hauing reigned but nine, am become victorer of both regions. Doe you thinke it then meete that I should now cease from winnyng of that glory, whereunto I haue onely addict my selfe? No, I will neuer cease: but whersoeuer I shall haue occasion to fight, I shal thinke my self to be in the Theater, where the whole world doth behold mee. I will giue nobilitie and fame to places that be obscure. And will lay open to all nations those countreys that nature hath remoued furthest from them: In doyng whereof it shall be gratefull for me to ende my lyfe, if Fortune will haue it so. I am come of such a stocke, that I ought to desire many thinges before long lyfe. I pray you to remember that we come into those cōtries where the name of a woman is much celebrated for her vertues. What cities did Semiramis builde? what nations did she subdue? and what great workes did she accomplish? We are not yet become equall to a woman in glory, and yet you would haue mee to be satisfied of laud. The Gods be fauourable vnto our purpose: for there remaine for vs yet greater thinges to doe. And it is the next way to make those countreys which we haue not yet touched, to become ours, if wee estéeme nothing to be of small valure, where as there is any occasion to winne glory. Let it be your care only to preserue me from ciuil conspiracie and treason of myne owne people, and then there be no aduentures in the warre shall put me in feare. Philip was more sure in the front of the battell abroad, then when he was in quiete at home. He oftentymes auoyded the force of his enemies: but he could not eschew the violence of his owne subiectes. And if you consider the ende of other kinges you shall count more that haue beene slaine

by

by their owne men, then by any forreine power. But because there is an occasion now offered mee to vtter the thing I haue long conceiued in my mynd: it shall be the greatest fruite I can receiue of my actes and my trauels, if my mother Olimpias, when she departeth this life, might be consecrated to immortalitie. If shee depart in my tyme, I will do the thing my selfe. But if I shall be preuented by death, remember you to performe that I haue determined.

And thereupon he dismissed his friends from him, and continued many dayes in the same place. Whiles these thinges were a doyng in India, the Grecke souldiours that had land and habitation appointed them at Catabactra, thorow a sedition that chaunced amongst them, rebelled against him: Not so much for any hatred they bare him, as for feare of punishment. For they killed diuers of their chiefe Rulers, and assemblyng in force togethers, toke the castle of Bactria that was negligently kept, and procured the Bactrians to rebell with them. Athenodorus was the chiefest amongest them, who toke vppon hym the name of a kyng, not so much for the desire he had to the kyngdome, as by authoritie to make hymselfe of power to conuey himselfe and others home into his owne countrey. But one Bicon of his owne nation became his vtter enemy, and conspiryng against him, did bid him to a banquet, where he was slaine by one Borus Macerianus.

The nexte day followyng, Bicon assembled the Grekes together, perswadyng them that hee slew Athenodorus but in hys owne

defence,

defence, whose purpose was to haue destroyed him. But there were some that perreyued his pollicie, and suspition was spred amongest the rest, so that the Grèekes fell to armes of purpose to slay Bicon. But such as were chiefe, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation was deliuered from that present perill. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against thē that saued his life, whose falsehod known, they toke both him and Borus, determining that Borus should be put to death out of hand, and that Bicon should ende his life by torments. As they were tormenting of him, the Grèeke souldiours sodainly in a fury (for what cause it is vncertaine) ranne to armes, the noise of whom beyng heard with them that had the charge of Bicon, did let him at liberty, fearing that the rumour had bene made for his deliuery. He as he was naked came running amongst ỹ Grèeks where as they were assembled: Whose miserable estate so sodainly changed their mindes, that they willed him immediatly to be set at liberty. By this meanes Bicon beyng twise deliuered from death, returned into his countrey with the Grèekes, leauing the colonie whereunto he was appointed by Alexander. These thinges were done in the confines of Bactria and Scithia. In the meane season the king of the two nations which we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadours vnto Alexander, which beyng men

of personages, rode in wagons seemely apparailed, hauing garments of linnen cloth embroidered with golde and empaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their comming was to yelde themselues, their Citie, their countrey, and their libertie (which they had kept inuiolately by so manie ages) to his wil and appointment. Of which their submission, the Goddes (they saide) were authors, and not any feare: for they were contented to yelde themselues before they had prooued their power with him. The king called a councell, and receiued them vnder his protection, appointing them to pay such tribute as they before payed to the Arachosians. And besides, to sende two thousand fiue hundred horsemen to serue him in his warres: all which things they performed obediently. This done, he made a great feast, whereunto hee inuited Embassadors, and his Lordes. He vsed therein great preparation, ordeining a hundred beds of golde to eate vpon: which being set a small distance one from another, were drawne about with curtaines garnished with golde and purple. In that feast ther was shewed and set forth all the excesse and voluptuousnes, which eyther by long custome was vsed among the Persians, or by corruption of their olde vsages taken vp amongst the Macedons: the vices of both those nations beeing there mingled & mixed togither. There was at that feast one Diorippus of Athens, a notable champion, by reason of hys ex-

cellent force well knowne vnto the king, whom certein enuious and malitious persons, betwixt earnest and pastime did reproue, that he was giuen to fat his bodie as an vnprofitable beast: And when that other went to the battaile, hee would anoynte his bodie with oyle, and prepare himselfe to eate. Amongst other that vsed words of despyte against him, there was at ỹ same feast one Horratas a Macedon, who in his dronkennesse challenged Diorippus, that if he were a man, hee shoulde fyght the campe with hym the next day vppon life and death, whereas the king shoulde iudge eyther him to be rash, or the other too much a dastard. Diorippus then laughing to skorne the pryde and arrogancie of this souldier, accepted his proffer. The nexte day they were more earnest to go to the Combatte, then they were before in making of the challenge: therefore when the king sawe them so bent, and that they would not leaue theyr purpose, hee consented to their will. There were great numbers of men assembled at the combat amongst whome there were many Grecians, which fauoured Diorippus part. The Macedō came into the listes armed at all peeces, holding in his left hande an Iron buckler and a speare, and in his right hande a casting launce, and hauing his sword besides girte to his side, was furnished as though he shoulde haue fought with many men at once. Diorippus came forth annoynted with oyle, wyth a garlande vppon

his heade, and hauing a redde cloth wrapte about his left arme, held in his right hand a knottie cudgell. The diuersitie of theyr furnishmentes brought euerie man into a wonderfull expectation.

For they could not thinke it onely a rashnes, but a madnes, for Diorippus that was naked, to match with the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill his aduersary before they should come to hand stripes, threw at hym his launce, which Diorippus auoided with bending of his body, and before that he could charge his pyke he leaped to him, and with his cudgell brake the same asunder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, he began to drawe his sword: but Diorippus preuented him with a close, and taking both his feete from vnder him threw him to the earth, and there plucking hys sworde from him, set his foote vpon his necke, & held vp his cudgell to haue strikē out his braines if the king had not caused him to stay his hande. This triumph ended with displeasure both vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander himselfe: specially because this thing was done in the Indians presence: fearing least the valiauntnesse of the Macedons, famed so much in the world, might thereby come into contempt. Hereupon Alexander grudging at Diorippus, bare his eares open to the accusation of the enuious. They within a few daies after had caused a golden cup to be purposely conueied out of ỹ way;

which the ministers hauing imbeseled, made complaint vnto Alexander of the losse thereof. Oft times men shew lesse constancie in countenance, then in the offence it selfe. For in their complaint Diorippus perceiued by their lookes, that they noted him as thiefe, which he coulde not endure, but parting out of the feast (after he had written a letter to the king) hee killed himselfe. Alexander was very sorie for his death: which he tooke for no token of repentaunce, but rather of indignation. For afterwardes it appeered by the ouer much reioicing of his enemyes, that he had beene falsly accused. The Embassadors of the Indians that were dismissed home, within a fewe daies after returned againe, presenting vnto Alexander three hundred horses, a thousand and thyrtie wagons, euerie one drawn with foure horses, certeine vestures of lynnen cloth, a thousand Indian targets, and one hundred talentes of white yron, both Lyons of rare bignes, and Tigers that were made tame, the skinnes of great Lyzards, and the shelles of certeine fishes. The king then commaunded Craterus to conduct his armye along the Ryuer: whereuppon he sayled, and embarking such as were wont to accompany him, with the stream passed into the bounds of the Mallians, and frō thence came vnto the Sabracans, which was a nation of great power, not ruled by kinges, but by a gouernement of the people. They had gathered togither fyue thousand footemen, and fyue thou-

thou-

thousand horsemen, & fiue hundred armed waggons, and had chosen three Captaines that were approued men of warre. But when such as inhabited next vnto the Riuer (the banckes beeing full of villages) saw all the Riuer so far as they could view, ouerspread with shippes, and the armour glistering of so many men of war, they were amazed with the straungenes of the sight, and thought that some army of the Gods, or els Bacchus (whose name was famous amongest those nations) had béene come amongst them. The cry of the men of warre, with the clashing of the oares, and the straunge noise of the Mariners, exhorting one another, fylled ful their fearfull eares. They ranne therefore amongst theyr countrey men which had assembled their force, declaring theyr madnes if they would contende with Gods. For they saide the shippes could not be numbred that caryed those inuincible people: with which words they put such feare amongst the men of war of their owne nation, that they sent immediately Embassadors to yelde themselues. When he had receiued their submission, hee came the fourth day into another countrey, the people whereof durst no more withstande him, then the rest did: and there hee buylded a Citie which he named Alexandria: & frō thence entered into a countrey, the inhabitants whereof be called Musicans. There he vnderstode by the accusation of the Paromisidans, that Destetrioles (whome Alexander had appointed Lieue-

tenaunt amongst them) had ruled in excessiue pride and couetousnes, and therefore commaunded him to be put to death. And Oriatres lieuetenant of the Bactrians being also accused, was not only acquited, but also had a great rule committed vnto him. When he had subdued the vttermost parts of the Musicans, he put a garrisõ in their Citie, and went from thence to another nation of the Indians called Prestians, of whõ Oricanus was king, which with a great power got himselfe into a strong Citie, which Alexander wan the thirde day after he began his siege. Vpon the taking of the towne, Oricanus fledde into the Castle, and sent Embassadors to treate of peace. But before they were come to Alexanders presence, two towers of the Castle fell with a great crash, by the ruine whereof the Macedons gotte into the Castle, where Oricanus, which with a fewe more stode at defence, was slaine, the Castle being raised, and all that were within solde as slaues. Alexander came into the bounds of Saba, where besides many holdes y yelded vnto him, he toke the strongest Citie of that cuntrey by force of a myne. It seemed a mõstrous thing vnto the Indians (being ignorant of such pollicies of war) for armed men to come forth of the ground in the midst of their Citie, whereas there appeared before no signe of any way vnder the earth.

Clytarchus doth write, that there were four score thousand Indians slaine in that countrey, besides

beſides many priſoners ſold as ſlaues. The Muſicans in the mean time rebelled, for the oppreſſion of whome Phiton was ſente thither: who toke the Prince of that nation priſoner, and brought him to Alexander, whome he cauſed to be hanged vpon a croſſe as the author of the reuolte, which done, he returned again to the Ryuer whereas he had willed his Nauy to tary for him. The fourth day after paſſing downe the ſtreame, he came to a towne at the entrie of the kingdome of Samus: The king whereof had newly yelded himſelfe, but the Citizens ſhutte their gates, and would not be at commaundement: Whoſe ſmall number Alexander regarded ſo litlte, that he ſent fiue hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proffer them the ſkirmiſh, to the intent that retyring by litle and litle, they might drawe them out of their ſtrength: thynking that they would follow in the chaſe, when they ſhould ſée their enemies flying. The Agrians did as it was appointed them: for when they had once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backs, and the Indians followed them till they came to the ambuſhment, whereas the king lay. Then the Agrians tourned, & the fight was renued againe, ſo that of three thouſande Indians, there were fiue hundred ſlaine, and a thouſand taken, the reſt recouered againe the Citie. But the end of ỹ victorie was not ſo pleaſaunt, as it appéered in the beginning: for the Indians had ſo enuenomed theyr ſwordes,

that such as were hurt, died of their woundes. And the Phisitions could not deuise the cause of so strange a death: for euen the very light hurts were vncurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander through his rashnes might haue come within that daunger, which by chaunce fighting amongst the thickest, escaped vnhurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpon his left shoulder: who being in greater danger, then ỹ greatnes of his wound shewed, caused the king to bee carefull of him. For he was neere of his kin, and as some thought Philip was his father: but it is certeine that his mother was Philips concubine. He was one of them that had the charge of the kinges person, a valiant man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. Hee was moderate both in his apparaile and liuing: liberall, easie to be spoken to, and without anie such height of mind, as is wont to be descended of bloud royall: by reason of which qualities, it is vncerteine whether hee was better beloued with the king, or with ỹ rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to proue how the minds of men were affectionate towardes him: for euen in that daunger the Macedons began to diuine of his fortune, wherunto afterwards he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptholomeus, then of the king himselfe: who vsed him so familiarly, that when he was wearied eyther with trauaile or care of minde, would sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: and at that time caused his

bed

bed to be brought into his owne chamber. Whē Ptholomeus was laid there, he fell sodainely in a profound sléepe, in the which it séemed that a dragon offred to him an herbe out of his mouth for the healing of his wounde, and taking away of his venime. When he awaked, he declared his dreame, and shewed both the colour and fashion of the herbe, affirming that he could know it, if any man could find it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the wound, ẏ paine streight waies ceased, and the skarre within short space was closed. When the Indians were disappointed of ẏ hope they had conceiued that way, they yélded themselues and their Citie. From thence Alexander went into the nexte countrey called Pathalia, the king whereof called Meris, lefte the Citie, and fled into the mountaines: so that Alexander toke the same, and destroied all the countrey, finding both a wonderfull pray of shéepe, of cattel, and of corne. There he toke Pilots that knew the Riuer, and came vnto an Iland which stode in the middest of the streame, where hee was compelled to remaine the longer, because the Pilots being negligently kepte, were escaped away. Ye sent therefore to séeke out other: but when he could finde none, there entred a vehement desire into his head, to visite without any guide the Ocean sea, and the ende of the worlde, committing his owne life, and the life of so many thousandes, to a Riuer which

none

none of them did knowe. They sayled as men ignorant of all places they came vnto: eyther howe farre the Sea was distaunt from them, what Nations did inhabite the cuntreys thereabout, or whether the mouth of the Riuer were nauigable for Galleys or no. In all these things they were ledde by a blinde and doubtfull imagination, hauing no other comfort in their rash enterprise, but onely that they trusted to their continuall felicitie. When they had gone forwards foure hundred furlongs, the shipmaisters tolde the king that they felt the ayre of the sea: wherby they knew that the Ocean was at hãd. Therat he reioiced greatly, and exhorted ỹ mariners, that they would in all that they might, make way with their Oares to bring him to the sight of the ende of the world, which he had so long desired.

Nowe (quoth hee) our glorie is perfect, when our manhoode is such that nothing can stay vs: Nowe the world is come into our hands, without any further hazard of warre, or shedding of bloud. Nowe since the bounds that nature hath wrought be so neere at hand, we shal shortly see things vnknown sauing to the immortall Gods.

Yet notwithstanding hee set certeine vppon lande to take some of the countrey men, by whõ he trusted to haue knowne more certeintie of the truth. When they searched out their cottages, at length they found out certeine that were hidden: Which beeing demaunded how far the Sea was from them, they made aunswere that

they

they neuer heard it named, but they said that within three dayes sailing they should come vnto a place, wheras a brackish water did corrupt the fresh: By which wordes the mariners vnderstode that they ment the Sea, of the nature whereof the people were ignorant. Then the Mariners rowed chærefully: their desire growing euer the greater, as they approched neere vnto the place, which they hoped to be the ende of their trauaile. The third day they came wher the Sea and the Riuer ioyned togither, miring with a small floud their waters that were of a contrary nature.

Then because the tyde was some-what against them, they haled towards another Iland standing in the midst of the riuer, which beeing an easie place to land at, the Macedons ranne about to seek victuals, in surety (as they thought) beeing ignorant of the chaunce that came vpon them. The thirde houre (according to the ordinary course) the tyde came from the Sea, and with his force did driue the streame backewardes, which at the first beeing but stayed, was afterwardes so behemently repulsed, that it caused the water to returne backeward with greater furye then any swifte streame is wont to runne. The common sort that knewe not the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to bee a wonderfull matter, and that it had beene a token sent to them for the Goddes wrath: and whylest they were in that imagination, the

Sea

Sea swelling more and more, ouerflowed the lande which they sawe before drie: and as the water rose, the shippes mounted, and all ỹ Nauye was dispersed here and there. Such as were vpon the lande were amazed with the sodeinnes of the thing, and ran from all partes in great feare vnto their shippes. But in a tumult hast doth hurt, and giueth impediment. Some there were that went about to set their shippes forwardes: other forbad rowing, and remoued not at all. Otherwhiles they made hast away, & would not tary to take in theyr companie, moued vnaptly, and could make no way. Some, when they sawe them presse a shipbord in such thronges, for feare of taking in too many, would receiue none at all: So that both multitude and small number, was a let vnto ỹ hast they made. The crie that some made in bidding men tarie, and the noise that other made willing them to go forwardes, with theyr voices that differed, & agreed not in one effect, take away the vse both of theyr sight and hearing. The mariners could not helpe the matter, whose wordes in the tumult could not be heard, nor theyr commaundementes obserued amongst men in feare and out of order. The shippes therefore dashed one against an other, the Ores crashed asunder, and euerie ship either thrust forwardes, or put backe another. No man would haue iudged it to bee one Nauie, but rather two sundry Nauies fighting a battaile vppon the Sea. The prores did

strike

ſtrike againſt the puppes: ſuch as went before troubled them that came after, and the woordes of men in theyr wrath turned into ſtripes. By that time the flood had ouerflowne all ỹ plains thereabouts, ſo that nothing appeered aboue the water ſauing the hilles, which ſeemed like lytle Ilands, whereunto many did ſwimme, and left their ſhippes for feare. Whileſt the Nauie thus diſperckled abroade, partly ſtode aflote, when they happened in any valley, and partly ſtycked vpon the ground, if they did hit vpon the flats, according to the ground which was ouerflown: ſodeinly there came another terror bigger then the firſt. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted courſe with ſo great violence, as it came forwardes, & reſtored the ſight of the land, which before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The ſhippes then forſaken of the water, fell vpon theyr ſides, and the fildees were ſtrowne with broken boordes, and with peeces of Oares. The ſouldiers durſt not go forth to lande, and yet were in doubt to tarie on ſhipboorde, looking euer for ſome greater miſchiefe to come, then that they ſawe preſent or paſt. They could ſcarſly beleue that they ſaw and ſuffered, which was ſhipwracke vppon the land, and the Sea within a Riuer. And they thought no ende would come of this miſchiefe: for they knewe not that the flood ſhould ſhortly returne againe, and ſet their ſhippes aflote. And therefore they imagined to themſelues famyne,

and

and all extremities. The monsters also of the Sea, which after the water was past, were left on drie land, put them in great feare. The night approched, and despayre brought the king into a great agonie. Yet no care could so ouercome his hart, that was inuincible, but that he watched all night, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the Riuer to bring him worde when the tide came. He caused two shippes that were broken to bee amended, and such as were ouerwhelmed to be hoised vp againe, warnyng all men to lye in wayte, and be in a readinesse against the water should arise.

Whkn hee had consumed all that night in watching, and giuing exhortation to his men, streight-waies the horsemen returned a mayne gallop, & the flood followed them: which mildly encreasing, began to raise againe their ships, and when it had once ouerflowne the bankes, ỹ whole Nauy began to moue. Then all the coast rebounded with the vnmeasurable reioicing ỹ the souldiers and mariners made for their safegarde, whereof they were before in dispeyre. When they sawe the daunger past, they enquyred with wonder one of another, by what reasō the sea could so soone after that maner ebbe and flowe, and debated the nature of that element, which one while disagréed, and another while was obedient and subiect to the time. The king coniecturing by the signes he had séene before, ỹ after the sunne rising the tyde would serue hys

purpose

purpose to preuente the matter, at midnight with a fewe shippes he fleeted dowen the stream: and passing out at the mouth of the Riuer, entred foure hundred furlongs into the sea, where atteining the thing that he desyred, made sacrifice to the Goddes of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countreys, and returned againe vnto his Nauy. From thence the next day he returned backwards against the streame, and arryued at a salte lake, the nature whereof beeing vnknowne, deceiued many that rashly entered into the water: for theyr bodyes by and by became full of scabs, which disease taken by some the contagion thereof infected many other. But they found that oile was a remedy for the same. Alexander lying still with his armye, wayting for the spring time of the yeere, sent Leonatus afore by the land way where he thought to passe, for to digge welles, because the countrey was very drie, and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many Cities, and commaunded Nearchus and Onesicritus (that were most experte of nauall thinges) with his strongest shippes to passe into the Ocean, and to go forwardes so farre as they might with suretie, for to vnderstand the nature of the Sea, and willed them at their returne to lande within that Ryuer, or els within Euphrates. When the winter was well passed, hee burned those shippes which he occupyed not, and conueyed his armie by lande.

After

After nine encampings, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, and from thence in nyne daies came amongst the Gedrosians: which being a frée nation, by generall counsayle had amongst them, yéelded themselues: of whō there was not any thing demaunded, sauing onelie victualles. The fifth day he came vnto a Riuer which the countrey men call Barabon beyonde the which there lay a barraine countrey greatly destitute of water, through the which he passed, and entred amongst the Horitans. There he betoke the greater part of his army to Ephestion, and parted his souldiers that were light armed with Ptholomeus and Leonatus, and so wasted the countrey with thrée armies at once, and toke great praies. Ptholomeus burned towards the Sea, Leonatus on the other side, and Alexander himselfe in the middest. In that countrey he builded also a Citie, and brought menne out of Arachosia to inhabite it. From thence hee came amongst the Indians, which lying vppon the Sea coast, do inhabite a great countrey that is waste and desert. They vse no traffique, entercourse, nor conuersation with anye of their neighbours: but the desertnes of theyr country made them sauage, beeing wilde of theyr owne nature. They weare long nayles, which they neuer cut, and long haire, that was neuer clipped. They made theyr houses of the shelles of fishes, and of other thinges that the Sea cast vp: And béeing clad with the skinnes of wylde beastes,

eate

eate fish dried with the sunne, and fedde vppon such monstrous fishes as the Sea cast vpon the lande. Here the Macedons consumed their victuals, and first endured scarsitie, and afterward extreme hunger, searching out in euerie place the rootes of the Palmes, which is the onely tree that groweth in that countrey. But when that kinde of nourishment failed them, they killed their cariage beastes, and abstained from their horses: whereby lacking beastes to beare their baggage, they were enforced to consume wyth fire the spoiles of their enemies, which had caused them to trauaile into the vttermost bounds of the Orient.

After their famine followed a pestilence: for the vnaccustomed nourishment of the vnwholesome meates that that they did eate, with the trauaile of their iourney and the care of minde, spread diseases amongst them, in such sort that they could neyther continue in a place, nor yet go forwardes without great destruction. Hunger oppressed them when they taryed: and the Pestilence was more vehement euer as they wente forwardes. The fieldes therefore were strowne full of men that were halfe deade, and halfe aliue. And such as were but smally sicke, were not able to followe the army: it marched with such spéede: For euerie man thought to further so much his owne safegarde, as by making haste he could get before his fellowes. Such as fainted and could not followe, desired both

such as they knew and knew not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beastes whereupon to set them: and the souldiers could scarsly beare their owne armour, which had the imminent mischiefe that fell vpon other men, represented before their owne eyes. Wherfore, when they were called vppon, they would not vouchsafe once to loke backe: feare had so taken away all compassion from them. Then they which were left behinde, cryed vppon the Gods and their king for helpe, alleadging that they were all of one religion, which was a bande for one to relieue another. But when they had cryed long in vaine vnto theyr deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wishing the like ende to theyr frendes and companions, that they themselues endured. The king troubled both wyth sorowe and with shame, because hee, and none els should be the cause of so great destruction of his men, did write to Phrataphernes ruler of the Parthenians, to send to him vpon Camels, victualles in readinesse to be eaten, and certifyed the Princes of the countreys thereabouts of his necessitie, which did not slacke the time, but made prouision according to his will. Thus hys army deliuered only from famine, was brought within the bounds of the Gedrosians: And for as much as the same was a countrey fertill of all things, he thought good to stay there a while with rest to recouer againe his feeble souldiers. There hee receyued letters from Leonatus,

holy

how he had wonne the victorie of the Horitans, which encountred him with eight thousand foot men, and fiue hundred horsemen: and was aduertised also from Craterus, how he had taken and put in holde Ozines and Zariaspes noblemen of Persia, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the countrey, wherof he had the rule vnto Siburtius, and afterwardes went into Carmania. Atropates was gouernour of that Nation: who beeing suspected of innouation, whylest Alexander was in India, met him on his way. But hee dissimuling his yre, entertayned him gently, and did to him his accustomed honour, till such time as he had better proofe of the matter, which was laide agaynst him.

When the Princes of India had, according to his appointment, sent out of all countreys vnder his Empire, great plenty of horse and other beastes, both of cariage and of draught. He gaue cariage againe to all men that wanted, & restored their armour to the former beautifulnesse & excellencie. For they were come into a countrey ioyning vppon Persia, which both was abundant of all thinges, and also quietly established vnder his subiection. He thought it then a tyme to counterfeite Bacchus in the glorie and fame which he got amongst those nations. Whither it were a tryumph that Bacchus first instituted, or a past time of him vsed in dronkennesse.

Alexander was determined to counterfeite hys dwings, hauing his mind puffed vp aboue mans estate. He commaunded therefore all the villages throughout the which he should passe, to bee strowne with flowers and garlands, and wyne to be set forth before euerie mans doore, for all men that would drinke. He caused wagons also to be made of largenes, able to carie great numbers: and decking the same with pretious furnitures, the king went formost with his frends, and next to them his garde, wearing vpon their heades garlands of flowers, some playing vpon flutes, and some vpon harpes: Euerie one generally through the army decked his chariot according to his abilitie and substaunce, whereas they beeing giuen to banquetting, did hang their rich armour besides them. Alexander with such as hee called to his company, was caryed in a chariot laden with cups of golde, and other golden vessell: he with his dronken army, marched thus seuen daies togither in ostentation of the pray they had gotten: Wherein they shewed such dissolutenes, that if one thousand of the subdued people durst daring that time haue giuen them the onset, they might haue take them prysoners, and led them away in triumph. But fortune which hath appointed both fame and estimation to things, tourned all this disorder vnto his glorie. For both the age that was then, and the posteritie that came after, marueiled, and take it for a wonder, that he durst go so dissolut-

lle amongſt thoſe nations, not yet eſtabliſhed vnder his Empire, the barbarous people reputing his raſhnes for an aſſured confidence. But ſhedding of blood enſued after this triumph. For Prince Aſpaſtis (ſpoken of before) was commaunded to bee put to death: ſo that hys exceſſe in voluptnouſnes was no let vnto his crueltie, nor crueltie impediment to his voluptuouſnes.

THE TENTH BOOKE OF QVINtus Curtius of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



About the same time, Cleander, Sitalches, Agathon, and Heracon, which by ỹ kings appointment had put Parmenio vnto death, retourned to him bringing with them v.M. footemen, & a thousand horsemen. There were many accusers ỹ followed them out of the Prouince, whereof they had the gouernance: Whose behauiour there was such, that the acceptable seruice they had done to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, could bee no satisfaction for the multitude of offences they had committed. They vsed such an vniuersall spoile, not abstaining from the ỹ temples, nor from sacred things. The virgins also & great ladies of the country, whom they had rauished, complained of them: lamenting ỹ shame they had sustained. They vsed such couetousnes & inordinate lust in their authoritie, that it caused the name of ỹ Macedons to bee hated amõg those nations. And yet amongst all the rest, Cleanders offence was most horrible, which rauyshing a virgin of noble bloud, gaue her to his slaue to vse as his concubine.

The

The moze part of Alexanders frendes were not so much offended with theyz crueltie and fowle actes (whereof they were accused) as with the remembzaunce of Parmenio his death, which they kept in silence, least the rehearsall thereof might haue pzocured them fauour with ỹ king: reioycing that the kinges wzath was fallen vpon the Ministers of his yze, and that no power noz authozitie gotten by euill meanes, coulde haue any long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, sayde that the accuser ouerslipte the greater offence, which was the dispeyze of hys safegarde. Foz if they had eyther hoped oz beléeued that hee shoulde euer haue retourned out of India, they durst neuer (hée saide) haue committed any such offences. He commanded them therefoze to pzyson, and put sixe hundzed souldyers to death, that had béene ministers of theyz crueltie: and they also were executed the same day, which Craterus had bzought as authozs of the rebellion out of Persia. Within a while after Nearchus and Onesicritus, which had béene commaunded by the king to search the Ocean Sea, retourned to him, declaring some thinges by knowledge, and some by repozt. They shewed him of an Iland not farre from the mouth of Indus, which abounded with golde, and had no bzéede of hozses amongst them: Wherefoze the inhabitozs would giue a talent of golde foz euerie hozse bzought from the main land. They also tolde of great monstrous fishes (whereof thole

Seas

Seas were full) which caried downe with the tyde would shew their bodies aboue the water, as big as a great ship, and followe their Nauie with a terrible noise. And when they diued vnderneath the water, they troubled the seas, as if it had beene a shipwracke. These were thinges they had seene, the rest they had receiued by report of the inhabitors: as how that the red Sea toke his name of king Erithrus, and not of the colour of the water. They shewed also of an other Iland not far from the maine lande, growing full of plaine trees, where was a great wood and in the middest thereof stode a piller, wyth inscription of such letters as he vsed in the cuntrey. They added besides, that such mariners as caried the merchants, and the drudges of the army, through couetousnes of the gold, which had beene reported vnto them, landed in the Ilande, and were neuer seene after. Their wordes mooued Alexander much, and put him in a great desire, to get more certein knowledge of those parties: and therfore he commaunded them again to the Sea, willing that they should coast the land, til they came within the Riuer of Euphrates, and from thence to come vp to Babilon against the streame.

The thinges were infinite that he compassed in his head, for he determined after that he had brought the Sea coast of the Orient vnder hys subiection, to go out of Siria into Affricke, for ỹ enuy he bare to the Carthagens: Hee purposed

from

from thence to passe ouer the deserts of Numidia towardes Gades, where he vnderstode by the fame that Hercules had planted his pillers: and so dyrecting his iourney through Spaine, (the which the Grækes of the Riuer Iberus cal Iberia) to go ouer the Alpes, and so into Italy, till he should come to the coast where the nerte passage was into Cyprus. For this intent hee gaue commaundement to his officers in Mesopotamia, that they should cut downe timber in the Mount Libanus, and conuey the same vnto Capsagas a Citie in Siria. And there to make galleys of such greatnes, that euerie one of them might be able to carie seuen Oxes vpon a bank, and from thence he willed them to be conueyed vnto Babilon. He sent commaundement to the kings of Cypres, to furnish them of Iron, hemp, and sayles. Whilest theis thinges were in doing, hee receiued letters from Porus and Tarides, signifiyng that Abiazares was dead of a dissease, and that Philippe his lieuetenant in those partes was slaine, and they put to death that were the doers thereof. Alexander in the place of Philip appointed Eudemon that was Capitaine of the Thracians, & gaue Abiazares kyngdome vnto his sonne. From thence he came to Pesargades, a countrey of the Persians, where Oxines was Lord: which both in nobilitie and riches, excéded all other men in those parties, as one that conueyed his pedigree from Cyrus, that sometime was king of Persia.

The

The riches his predeceſſors left him was great, and he by a long continuance in his enheritance and authoritie, had much encreaſed the ſame. He met Alexander comming thitherwards, and preſented both him and his frends, with gifts of ſundrie ſortes, with a great number of horſes ready to be ridden vpon, Chariots wrought w̄ gold and ſiluer, pretious ſtuffe, excellent pearles and pretious ſtones, weightie veſſels of golde, roabes of purple, and foure thouſand talentes of coyned ſiluer: but that his liberalitie was occaſion of his death. For when he had preſented all the kinges frendes with giftes aboue their deſire, hee honoured not with any giftes at all Bagoas the Eunuch, whom Alexander ſpecially fauoured for the vſage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him admonition how much Alexander eſtæmed Bagoas: but he anſwered them, that his cuſtome was to honour the kinges frendes, and no harlots: For that it was not the Perſians maner to haue any in eſtimation, which did effeminate themſelues w̄ ſo ſhamefull an abuſe.

When his words were reported to the Eunuch he vſed the power which he had gotten by diſhoneſt meanes, to the deſtruction of that noble and innocent man. For he did ſuborne certeine lewde perſons of Orſines countrey, to bring in falſe accuſations againſt him, which he wylled them to preſent at ſuch time as hee ſhoulde appoint vnto them.

In

In the meane season, whensoeuer Bageas got the king alone, he would fill his credulous eares with tales against Orsines, euer dissimuling ỹ cause of his displeasure, least thereby he might lose the credit of his false report. The king had not Orsines yet in suspect of any such matter as afterwards was laid against him: but he began to grow with him out of estimation. His accusation was euer so secret, ỹ hee could neuer get knowledge of the perill ỹ was priuily wrought against him. That importunate harlot in his vile conuersatiõ had with ỹ king, was mindfull euer of the malice he bare to Orsines, whom he would not cease to bring in suspitiõ of couetousnes, or of rebellion, so oft as he sawe Alexander bent to vse him familiarly. By ỹ time ỹ false accusations were in redines, ỹ he had prepared to ỹ destruction of the innocent: whose fatall destinie approching could not be auoided. It chaũced ỹ Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cirus body was buried, to be opened, pretending to vse certeine ceremonies for the dead: But thinking in very deede ỹ his tombe had beene full of golde and siluer, whereof there was a constant fame amongst ỹ Persians. But when it was viewed there was nothing found, but a rotten target, ỹ. Scithian bowes, & a sword. Alexander caused ỹ coffin wherein Cirus body was laid, to be couered with the garment he accustomed to wear, & set thereon a crowne of golde, marueiling that there was no more sumptuousnes vsed in burial

of

of such a king, endued with so great riches, lying there but after the common sorte of menne. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas stode next vnto Alexander, who beheldе him in ỹ face and saide,

What maruelle is it though the sepulchers of kings bee emptie, when Lordes houses be not able to receiue the golde they haue taken out from thence? For my part I neuer saw this tombe before: but I haue heard Darius report, that there were three thousand talents buryed with Cirus. Thereof (quoth hee) proceeded Orsines liberaritie in winning your fauour by the gift of the thing, which he knew he could not keepe.

When hee had thus stirred vp Alexanders wrath against Orsines, he presented them whō hee had suborned to accuse him: By whose report, and by Bagoas surmised tales, Alexander was so incensed against Orsines, that hee was put in prison, before he could suspect that he was accused. The Eunuch was not contented wyth the destruction of this innocent man, but at hys death laide violent hands vpon him: To whom Orsines saide: I haue heard that women in times past haue reigned, and borne great rule in Asia: but it is now a most straunge thing that a gelding should haue the Empire in his hands. This was the ende of the moste noble man amongst the Persians, who was not onely an innocent in this matter, but such a one as bare singuler affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same time Phradates, which was suspected to haue gone about to make himselfe king, was put to death.

death. Alexander began then to be much enclyned to the shedding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of euill report: prosperitie is of such a force to chaunge a mans nature, wherein few men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he that a litle before would not condemne Lincestes Alexander, when he was accused by two witnesses: that suffered diuers of more meane estate to be acquited, though it grudged his mynde, because they seemed not guiltie to other men: And he which bestowed kingdomes vppon his enemies, whome hee had subdued, was in the ende so much altered from his former inclination, ỹ against his owne appetite, at the will of an harlot, he would giue kingdomes to some, and take away the liues from other. About ỹ same time hee receiued letters of thinges done in Europe, whereby he vnderstode that whilest he was in India, Zopirus his Lieutenant in Thrace dyd make a iourney against the Getes, where by stormes and tempestes that sodeinly rose vppon him, he was destroied and all his army. When Seuthesodrylas vnderstode the defeate of that army, he procured the Odrisians that were hys countrey men to reuolte: So that all Thrace was in maner lost therby, and Greece stode in no great suretie. The writers of the actes of great Alexander, make mention in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was verie famous in Philosophie, which by persuasion of king Taxiles followed Alexander, and ended his life after

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a strange sort. When he had liued lxxiij. without any disease, at his comming into Persia, hee felte a paine in his belly, whereby coniecturing that the ende of his life was come, least such a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, shoulde be spotted with any long dissease, or tormented with the multitude of medicines, which Phisitions vse to minister, requyred Alexander that he might cause a fire to be made, and to burne himself in the same. The king began to dissuade him from his purpose, thinking to haue brought him from the doing of so horrible an acte: but when hee perceiued with what stedfastnes and constancie he stode in his intent, and that there was no way to keepe him any longer aliue, hee suffered a fyre to be made according to his will, whereunto Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making first his praier to the Gods of his countrye: and taking the Macedons by the handes, required them ỳ they would spend that day pleasantly in banqueting with their king, whom within a while he should see at Babylon. When he had spoken those words, he went merily into ỳ fyre, whereas plying his body comely, kepte still the same gesture and countinance at his death, that he was wont to vse. When the fyre flamed, the trumpets blew, the men of warre making such a shoute, as they accustomed going to the battaile, which rebounded vp to the sky, and the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These bee the things that sage writers do testifie of Cala-

mus,

nus, which was a notable example of an inuincible minde, constantly bent to suffer any aduersitie. From thence Alexander went into Susa, whereas he toke to wife, and lawfully maryed Statira, Darius eldest daughter: Whose yonger sister called Dripetis, he gaue to wife vnto Ephestion. And bestowed to the number of lxx. virgins of the noblest of all the nations hee had conquered, to the principall Macedons, and to ỹ chiefest of his frends, because he would not seem alone to begin so strange a custome. These mariages were celebrated after the Persian manner, and a princely feast prouided at the espousals: Wherat there were lx. M. gestes, to euery one of whom Alexander gaue a drinking cup of golde. At the same time the rulers of the Cities, which Alexander had subdued and builded, sent vnto him xxx. M. young souldiers, that were all of one age, furnished with faire armour apte to do any enterprise of the warre, which he called Epygony, that is to say his successors. The Macedons at their comming seemed to be somwhat appalled, which wearied with long warre, vsed often in assemblies to murmur, and speake mutinous wordes against the king. For that cause hee had prepared these souldiers to restreine the arrogancie of other, and gaue vnto them great benefites. Harpalus, to whom the king had committed the charge of the treasure and reuenues at Babylon, hearing of the actes that Alexander had done in subduing the more parte of the

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kinges of India, and his succesſe to be ſo proſpe-rous, that nothing could withſtande him: know-ing the unſatiable deſire that was in Alexan-der to viſite farre countreys, and to encreaſe hie glorie, thought it ſhould bee a harde matter for him to returne to Babilon againe. Wherefore gaue himſelfe to delight and to luſt, miſuſing many that were noble and frée women, & wal-lowed in all kind of voluptuouſnes: In ſo much that hee ſent into Athens for a famous harlotte called Potonice, to whome he both gaue manie great and princely giftes whileſt ſhe was aliue, and alſo after her death ſpent thyrtie talents vp pon her tombe. Hauing in theſe and ſuch other like voluptuous waſted & vanities conſumed a great part of the treaſure, when he vnderſtode Alexander to be come out of India, and to vſe extreme iuſtice vppon his officers, that miſuſed them of whome he had rule, (by reaſon he was priuy to his foule conſcience) he feared the lyke might come to himſelfe: And therefore gathe-ring togither fiue thouſand talentes, & ſix thou-ſand mercenary ſouldiers, toke ỹ way towards Athens, no man willing to receiue him by the way. When he came to Tenaron (whereas a great number of the mercenary Grékes, which had béene diſcharged out of Aſia, were aſſemb-led) he left his ſouldiers there, and went to A-thens with his money: when he was come thi-ther, great number of the citizens flocked about him, more for loue of his money, then for hys

owne sake: but specially the Orators, and such as used to make their game by orations, & perswading of the people: whom by small rewards he easily corrupted to defend his cause with the people. But afterwardes at a generall assembly vpon the matter, he was commanded to depart the Citie, and so returned amongst the Greeke souldiers, by whome he was slaine. Therefore with thyrtie shippes they sailed ouer to Sunium, which is a point of the lande in the territorie of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entered into Athens hauen. These thinges being knowne, Alexander that was sore moued as well against the Athenians, as against Harpalus, prepared a great Nauye to make war in person immediately against them. And as hee was busied about the matter, he vnderstode by secret letters, how both Harpalus had beene in Athens, and corrupted with money the chiefe of the Citie: And also how that afterwardes by a councell of the people, he was commaunded to depart from thence, who returning amongst the Greeke souldiers, was slaine by one of them by treason. These newes greatly reioiced Alexander, whereby hee had occasion to leaue off his iourney into Europe: but he sent commaundement to all the cities of Greece, that they should receiue againe all their banished men, except such onely as had committed any murther vpon their owne countrey men. Although the Greeks knew the same to be the breach of their

liberties, and their lawes, and the beginning of theyr bondage, yet as men that durst not disobeye his will, they called home theyr banished men, and restored to them such of their goodes as did remaine. Onely the Athenians which euer defended obstinately the liberties of theyr common wealth, and which had not beene accustomed to liue vnder the obedience of any king, but vnder the lawes and customes of their cuntrey, would not agree that such dregde of men should liue amongst them, but did driue them out of their boundes, ready to suffer any thing rather then to receiue such, as sometime were the rascals of theyr Citie, and then the refuse of all the outlawes. The time was come, that Alexander minded to dismisse his olde souldiers, and send them into their countrey: but he willed first xij. thousand footmen, and y. M. horsmen to be chosen out to remaine still in Asia, which he iudged might be kept with a small army, because (he thought) the garrisons he had planted in many places, & the cities which he had newly builded & filled with inhabiters, should be able to stay such as would attempt any rebellion. But before he would make any diuision of such as should depart & remain, he caused a proclamation to bee made y all souldiers shoulde declare their debts (wherwith he perceiued many to be sore burdened) and though their debt did rise by theyr owne disorder & excesse, yet he was determined to discharge euerie man. But the souldiers

ers,thinking it had beene but a deuise to trie out the prodigall from the rest,delaied the time,and brought not in theyr declarations. The king perceiued shame to be thereof, & no disobedience or selfe will: And therefore caused tables to bee set vp through his camp,& x. M. talents to be broght forth: of all which treasure when their debtes were paid,according to the iust declaratiõ,there remained no more but a CCxx. talents. Wherby it appeared that they which were the conquerors of so many rich natiõs,brought out of Asia, more glorie then spoile. But after it was once knowne ỹ some should be dispatched, & some remain stil,they thought ỹ king would haue established his kingdom perpetually in Asia. Wherfore like mad men,& vnmindfull of all discipline of warre, they filled the campe full of all seditious words, and came vnto the king more arrogantly, & with greater rigor then euer they did before,al with one voice,requyring to be discharged,shewing forth the hoarines of their hayre, & their faces deformed w̃ skars. And herein they could not bee staied,either by chastisemẽt of the officers,or by any reuerence of theyr king: but when he would haue spoken vnto them, they would not suffer him to be heard, but disturbed his tale with theyr tumultuous crie, and violent throng: protesting openly that they would neuer moue one foote forwards to any place,except it were towards their owne cuntrey. After a great space, (because they thought that Alex-

ander would encline to theyr purpose) they kept silence, and stode in expectation what he would do. Then Alexander spake vnto them.

What meaneth this sodaine trouble of mynde, thys so malipert, and vnlawfull libertie? I am afrayde to speake vnto you: you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towardes mee. I am nowe become a king at the appointment of my people: you haue neither lefte me the libertie to knowe you, to exhort you, nor to beholde you. Beeing determined to sende some into their countrey before, and to bring the rest with mee shortly after: I see them as well that shall be now dispatched crying and mutining, as those that I appoint to come with mee. What a matter is this? Their crie is alyke, notwithstanding that their cause is diuers. I woulde faine knowe whether they complaine that departe, or they that tary still.

When he had spoken those words, they cryed all (as it had been with one mouth) that they complained euery man: Then he said.

Truely it cannot be so: nor I cannot be perswaded that you should all be greeued for the cause you declare, seeing the case toucheth not the most part of you: for I haue appointed more to depart, then to remaine still. There must needes be some greater mischiefe then appeareth, that should turne you all from mee: when was it euer seene, that an whole armye hath forsaken their king? The slaues runne not from their maisters all at once: but there is alwayes a shame in some to leaue them, whom the rest forsakes. But why doe I forget that you bee mad in your mindes? or why go I about to cure you that bee vncurable? I condemne frō hence forth all the good hope that euer I conceiued of you, & am determined to worke no more with you, as with my souldiers (seeing yee will not bee mine) but with men vngratefull and vnmindfull of my goodnes. The cause of this your madnesse, is euen the aboundance of your prosperitie, whereby you forget your olde estate, from the which yee be deliuered through my benefite. You are men worthy to haue spent your liues in your for-

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mer beggerie, seeing you can better beare aduersitie then prosperous fortune. Beholde, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illyrians and Persians, doe now disdaine Asia, and the spoyle of so many nations. You, which vnder Philip went halfe naked, nowe yee contemne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure to beholde any longer the sight of gold and siluer. You desire againe your woodden dishes, your targets made of wyckers, and your swordes couered with rust. I receiued you in this simple estate, with fiue hundred talentes in debt, when all my furnytures exceeded not in value fortie talentes. This was my foundation of my actes, wherewith (without enuy be it spoken) I haue subdued the greatest part of the world. Are you weary of Asia, which hath ministred vnto you occasion of such glorie, that by the greatnes of your actes, ye bee made equall with the Gods? Do you all make such haste in to Europe, to forsake mee that am your king? The more parte of you shoulde haue lacked money to beare your charge thither, if I of my benevolence had not paid your debtes. Are you not ashamed that haue robbed all Asia, to beare the spoiles of so manye Nations within your bellies, and nowe to returne home to your wyues and children, vnto whom there bee but fewe of you that can shewe any rewardes of your victorie? For many of you shall bee compelled to gage your armour, if ye forsake this good hope, which ye might receiue at my handes. These be the good men of warre that I shal want, which of all their riches haue nothing lefte them, but onely their concubines. The way lieth open for your departure: get you hence quickly out of my sight. I with the Persians shall defend your backes when yee be gone. I will hold none of you: deliuer mine eyes ye vngratefull countrey men, of the sight I see of you. Shal your parents and children receiue you with ioy, when they shall see you retourne without your king? Shall they couet to meete such as be fugitiues, and forsakers of their Prince? I truely shall tryumph vpon departure: and whersoeuer you shall bee, I shall desire to be reuenged, honouring alwayes, and preferring before you, those which ye haue left heere with mee. Now ye shal know of what force an army is that lack-

eth a king, and what moment doth consist in me alone. When he had spoken those wordes, he leaped in a fury from the iudgement seate, and ran into the throng of the armed men: whereas he toke with his owne hands such as had mutined most against him. Of whome there being none that durst make resistance, he deliuered riy. vnto his garde to be safely kept. Who would thinke an assembly which a litle before had spoken to their prince with such fiereenes and rigor, could haue bene so sodeinly appalled for feare? Which seeing they? companions led to execution, durst not mooue, nor make attempt. But the inordinate libertie they vsed before, their seditious violence was then so staied, that not one of them durst resist the king running amongst them, but were all astonied for feare, and stode like men amazed, with doubtfull imaginations, loking what he would determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to his name, because the Nations that liue vnder kinges, are wont to honor them as Goddes, or were it the maiestie of his person, or els his owne assured constancie, executing hys authoritie with such violence, which put them in feare: they shewed a notable example of patience. For they remayned not only without stirre or motion at the execution of they? companions (whom they knew to be put to death in the night time) but were also more diligent in doing their duties then euer they were before: pretermitting nothing per-

perteining to obedience, and naturall affection towardes theyr Prince. For the next day when they came to the Court, and were not suffered to enter, but all shut out sauing the souldiers of Asia, they made a sorowfull crie and lamentation, which spred ouer all the campe, protesting ỹ they would not liue, if the king continued stil in his wrath. But he that was obstinate in all the things he had once conceiued in his heade, commaunded all the Macedons to kæpe still theyr campe, and assembled the souldiers straungers togither, to whome by an interpretor hee made this Oration.

At such time as I came first out of Europe into Asia, my trust was to bring many noble nations, & great power of menne, vnder myne Empire and dominion: wherein I was not deceiued. For besides that ỹ fame reported you to be men of valure, I haue found in you one thing more: which is an incomparable obedience, fidelitie, and affection towards your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had ouerflowne all vertue among you, and through your great felicitie, yee had bæne drowned in pleasures: But I finde it otherwise, and perceyue that none obserue the discipline and order of the wars, better then you doo, nor execute the same with more actiuitie nor stoutnes: And bæing manfull and valiant men, ye embrace fidelitie, no lesse then you doe the rest. This thing I doo but now acknowledge: but I knew it long ago: which was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of those nations, to bee my souldiers, and did incorporate you amongst mine owne people, causing you to vse the same habite, and the same armour: But your obedience and patience towards the authoritie, appeareth much better in you then in them. Therfore I haue ioyned to my selfe in mariage, the daughter of Oxatres that is a Persian: not disdaining to beget children vpon a captiue.

And afterwards desiring more abundantly to increase the issue of my body, I toke to wife the daughter of Darius, and was the authour that my neere frendes likewise should begette children vpon captiues: mynding by this holy couenant to exclude the difference betweene the victorers and the vanquished. Wherefore you must nowe thinke that you bee not souldiers vnto mee adopted, but more naturall: And that Asia & Europe is one kingdome without any difference. I haue giuen vnto you armour after the manner of the Macedons. I haue brought all straungenes and noueltie into a custome: and nowe ye bee both my countrey men, and my souldiers, all thinges receiuing one forme and fashion. I haue not thought it vnseemely for the Persians to shadowe the customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeyt the Persians: seeing they ought to be vnder one law & custome, that should liue vnder one king.

When he had made this oration, hee cõmitted the custodie of his person vnto the Persians he made them of his guarde, and his officers of iustice. By whome when the Macedons, which had giuen occasion of this sedition, were ledde bounde vnto execution, one of them that was more auncient and of greater estimation then the rest, spake after this maner.

How long will you thus giue place vnto your will, in executing vs after the strangers maner? Your souldiers and countrey men be drawn to execution by their owne prisoners, before their causes is heard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at least way chaunge the ministers of your wrath.

This was a good admonishment if hee had beene pacient to heare the truth: but his wrath was growne into a wodnesse: so that when he saw them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a litle at the matter, he causled the prisoners

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to bee tumbled into the Riuer, and there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelty of this punishment, the souldiers were not stirred to any sedition, but repaired by rowtes vnto their Capitaines, and vnto such as were neere about the king: requyring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he shoulde commaund them to be put to death, proffering theyr bodies to be punished and executed at hys owne will. After it was knowne that the lieuetenants shippes were giuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names giuẽ vnto them as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiected with reproch, they coulde not then any longer conteine themselues, nor suffer the dolour they had conceiued in their hartes, but with a great throng pressed to the court, wearing onely theyr nethermost garmentes, and leauing theyr weapons without the gate in token of repentaunce. There with weeping, and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to ỹ kings presence, and that he would vouchsafe to pardõ theyr offence: pacifyng his wrath with ỹ death of so many as he should thinke good, rather then to suffer them to liue in such reproch: which except he would release, they protested they would neuer depart out of the place.

When those thinges were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the court gates to be opened and came forth amongst them: Whereas beholding

holding their lamentation and repentance, their miserable behauiour and affliction, he could not abstaine to weepe long time with them: and in consideration of their modestie, forgaue them their former offences. And after he had temperatly tolde them their faults, and againe comforted them with gentle wordes, he discharged many from the seruice of the warres, and sente them home liberally rewarded: writing to Antipater his lieuetenant in Macedon, ỹ he should assigne them the chiefe places in the theaters, at triumphes and open plaies, wheras they should sit with garlandes on their heades: willing that their children after their deathes, should enioye their fathers wages. He appointed Craterus to be their ruler, to whom in the place of Antipater, he had committed the gouernement of Macedon, Thessaly, & Thrace: sending for Antipater to repayre vnto him with a supply of young souldiers. Alexander had receiued letters before, both from him, & Olimpias his mother: whereby dissention appeered to be betwirt them. For hys mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make himselfe king. And Antipater did write how Olympias did many things otherwise thē did become her. Antipater did take his calling away so greeuously in his hart, that he conspyred thereuppon to poyson Alexander: who hauing accomplished ỹ matters that before be mentioned, went to Echatan (being in Medea) to set order in the necessary affaires of his Empire, and

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there ordeined solempne triumphs and feasting. It chaunced Ephestion, whom the king specially loued, & vsed in place of a brother, to die the same time of a feuer: Whose death Alexander toke more sorowfully then may well bee credited, cõmitting in his dolor many things that did not beseme the maiestie of a prince. He cõmanded Ephestiõs phisition to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He lay embracing of the dead bodie, and could hardly bee taken away by his frendes, but continued hys sorowe night and day. There be many other thinges written in that behalfe, which be scarcely credible. But it is certeine that hee commaunded sacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his buriall, and in making of his tombe, aboue twelue thousand talents. As he was returning to Babylon, ỹ Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him that he should not enter into the Citie, for that it was signified, that if he went thither at that time, he should be in great perill of his life. Notwithstanding he regarded not their admonishments, but went forwardes in his iourney, according as he appointed. For he vnderstode that Embassadors were come thither from all Regions, taryng for his comming. The terrour of his name was so spred throughout the world, that all Nations shewed an obsequiousnes towardes him, as though he had beene appointed to be their king.

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That caused him to make haste to Babylon, to kéepe there as it were a Parliament of ỹ whole world. When he was come thither, he receiued the Embassadors gently, and afterwardes dyspatched them home againe. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, whereunto the king béeing bidden, came thither with such as were appointed to kéepe him companie: But hee had not so sone dronk of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had béene striken vnto the hart. And being caried out of the feast halfe dead was so tormented with paine, that hee requyred a sworde to haue killed himselfe. His frends did publish abroade, dronkennes to be the cause of hys disease: but in verie déede it was prepensed treason, the infamie whereof, the power of hys successors did oppresse. The poyson prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his sonne, which with his brethren Phillip and Iolla, were wont to serue the king at meate. He was warned that he shoulde not commit the same poyson to any person, excepte it were to Thessalus, or to his brethren. Philip therefore and Iolla, which were wont to take the say of the kinges cuppe, hauing the poyson ready in colde water, mixed it with wine, after they had tasted it. When the fourth day was come, the souldiers, partly for that they suspected he had béene dead, and partly because they could not endure to wante long his sight, came sorow-

ſorowfully vnto the court, deſiring to ſée ỹ king, which by his commaundement were admitted to his preſence, by ſuch as had the charge of hys perſon. When they beheelde him lying in ỹ caſe, they made great ſorow and lamentation: for he ſéemed not to them to bee the ſame theyr king, whom they were wont to ſée, but rather a dead corpes. If their griefe was great, the ſorowe of them that ſtode next to the bed appéered much more, whome when Alexander beheelde lamenting after that ſort, he ſaide vnto them.

When I ſhall depart, you ſhal find a king worthie for ſuch men as you be.

It is a thing incredible, howe that during the time that the ſouldiers of his whole army came to viſite him, he neuer altered countenance nor geſture, but continued in that kinde of preſence he gaue vnto the firſt, to the laſt man. When he had diſmiſſed the multitude, as though hee had béene diſcharged of all debt of life, he lay bowne againe to réſte his weake bodie: and his boyce beginning to fayle him, hee commaunded hys frendes to come néere about him. Then taking his Ring from his finger, he deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therewith a commaundement, that his bodie ſhoulde be conueied to Hammon. They demaunded to whom he would leaue his kingdome. He ſaid: to the worthieſt. By which wordes it appéered that he foreſawe the contention that was like to enſue vppon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of him, when

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he woulde haue diuine honors done vnto him? At such time (quoth he) as you shall finde your selues in felicitie. These were the last wordes Alexander spake, and shortly after hee died. Immediately after his death, the Court was full of howling, lamenting, and sorow making: & by and by, as it had bene in a deserte or solitarie place, all things were whist, & a sorowful silence was spred ouer all, euerie man being conuerted into imagination, what should become of ỹ matter. The young men of the Nobilitie, that were accustomed about Alexanders person, could not beare the greatnes of theyr dolour, nor kep thẽselues within the compasse of the court, but ran about as men out of theyr wits: wherby ỹ citie was filled with heauines & complaint, and no kinde of lamentation pretermitted, that sorowe is wont to minister in such a case. Such therefore as were within the Court, vnderstanding this matter, as well Macedons as others, came running thither, whereas the conquerors from the conquered, nor the victorers from the banquished could not bee discerned: the sorow was so indifferent to them all. The Persians called vpon theyr iust and mercifull Lord, & the Macedons made inuocatian to him that was so valiant & gratious a king: And thus there was a certeine contention of sorow amongst thẽ. Men did not vse theyr onely words of griefe and heauines, but also of grudge & indignation, that so young a prince, being in the flower of his age, &

of his fortunate successe, shoulde by the enuy of the Gods, be so taken out of this world. They called to remembraunce what a cheerefulnesse they had alwaies seene in his countenance, both when hee ledde them vnto the battaile, when he besieged or assaulted any Citie, or when hee would giue any commendation to the worthie in any assembly. Then the Macedons repented ẏ euer they had denied him diuine honors: confessing themselues both wicked and vngrateful for depriuing him of any name, whereof he was worthie. And when they had continued long in the veneration and desire of him that was dead then they began to pitie theyr owne case, which comming out of Macedon, were past the Riuer of Euphrates, amongst the middest of their enemies, that vnwillingly receiued their newe gouernement. They sawe themselues lefte destitute, and the Empyre without any certeine heire: for want of whome, euerie one would go about to drawe the power of his state vnto his priuate behoofe.

And then they begã to conceiue and foresee in their mindes the ciuill wars ẏ did ensue, & that they should be enforced to shed their blood again not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of such one ẏ would seeke to make himselfe king: whereby their olde skars shoulde breake out againe into newe woundes. And moreouer that such as by reason of their age had bene discharged from the warres by their noble and

righteous king, should now be enforced to spend their liues in the quarrell of some such a one as was but his souldier. Whilest thei were in these imaginations, the night came on, and encreased their terrour. The menne of warre watched in harnesse, and the Babylonians loked ouer the walles, peeping out from the toppes of their houses, to spie some certeintie how the matter wēt. There was none that durst kindle anye light: And because the vse of the eye did faile, they laid their eares to heare the rumors and words that were spoken: And many times they were afraid when no cause was, and when they met together in the narrow strētes, or darke lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect eche other as enemies. The Persians after their accustomed maner, clypped their hayre, and with their wyues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garments, with vnfained affection not as a conquerour, as one that lately had bēen their enemie, but as their righteous and naturall king. For they being accustomed to liue vnder a king, could thinke no man worthy but hee to rule ouer them. This sorow was not conteyned within the walles of the Citie, but streight waies spread ouer all the cuntrey thereabouts. And the fame of so great a mischiefe flying thoroughout all Asia, brought some tidings thereof vnto Darius mother. She at the first reporte tare asunder the garment she ware, and put on mourning apparaile; she pulled her hayre, and

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fell downe groueling vpon the earth. One of her Neeces sate by her mourning the death of Ephestion, whom she had maryed, and in an vniuersall heauines bewailed the cause of her pryuate sorow. But Sisigambis alone sustained all their miseries, and bewailed both her own case, and her Neeces: her fresh sorow causing her to call to minde things past. A man would haue iudged by her behauiour that Darius had beene newly slaine, and that she had celebrated the funerals of both her sonnes togither. She did not onely lament the dead, but sorowed also for the liuing. Who shall now (quoth she) take care of these young women? or who can bee like vnto Alexander? now we be taken prisoners againe: now we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After Darius death we found one to defend vs. But nowe since Alexander is gone, who will haue respect of vs?

Amongst these thinges she called to mynde, how Ochus the cruell king had slaine her Father, and foure score of her brethren in one day, and that of seauen children borne of her bodie, there was but one left aliue. She saw that fortune had aduaunced Darius, and caused him to florish for a time, to the intent he might end hys life by greater crueltie. Finally she was so ouercome with sorow, that she couered her head, turning her self from her Neece and Nephew that sate at her feele, and absteining both from meat and from beholding of the light, ended her life ỹ

fift day after she was determined to die. Thys her death was a great argument of the clemencie that Alexander had shewed towards her, and of the iustice towardes all the captiues: seeing that after Darius death she could abide to liue, but after Alexanders departure, she was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander righteously, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vyces eyther to his youth, or to the greatnes of his fortune.

Ther was in him an incredible force of courage and an exceeding sufferance of trauaile. He was endued with manhode: exceeding, not onely amongst kings, but also amongst such as had no other vertue nor qualitie.

He was of such liberalitie, that oftentimes he gaue greater thinges, then the receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdomes ỹ he gaue in gift, & restored to such from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemencie towards them that he subdued. He shewed a perpetuall contempt of death, the feare whereof doth amaze other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory and worldly praise then reason would beare, so was it tollerable in so yong a man, enterprising such great & notable actes. The reuerence and affection he bare towards his parents, appeered in ỹ purpose he had to consecrate hys mother Olimpias to immortalitie, and in that he sore reuenged Philips death. Howe gentle and familiar

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was he towards his frēds, and how beneuolent towardes his souldiers? He had a wisedome equall to the greatnes of his hart, and such a policie and forecast, as so young yeres were scarsly able to receiue. A measure he had in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desired, vsing no pleasure, but that was lawful: these were wonderfull great giftes and vertues. But in that he compared himselfe to the Gods, coueting diuine honors, & beleeued the Oracles that perswaded such thinges: that he was offended with them that would not worship him, and giuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient: That he altered his habite and apparell into the fashion of straungers, and counterfeyted the customs of them that he had subdued, & despised before his victorie: these were vices to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As the heat of youth stirred him to anger, & to ỹ desire of drinking: so age might haue mittigated again those faultes. Notwithstanding it must needes be confessed, that though hee preuailed much by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more to hys fortune, which only of all mortall men he had in his owne power.

How often did she deliuer him from the point of death? How oftē did she defend him with perpetual felicity, when he had rashly brought himselfe in perill? And when she pointed an ende to his glory, she euen thē was content to finish his life: staying his fatall destenie, till he had sub-

dued the Orient, visited the Ocean Sea, and ful filled al that mans mortality is able to perform. To this so great a king, and so noble a conqueroure, a successour was loked for. But the matter was of ouer great importaunce for any one man to take vppon him: Alexanders renowne and name was so great amongst all Nations: and they were counted moste noble, that might bee partakers, (though it were neuer so litle) of his prosperous fortune. But to retourne againe to Babilon, from whence the digression hath bene made: They which had the garde & custodie of Alexanders person, called into the Court such as had bene his chiefe frendes, and Capitaines of his men of warre: after whome also there followed a great multitude of souldiers, desiring to know who should be successour vnto Alexander.

The throng of the souldiers was such, that many of the Capitaines were excluded, & could not enter into the Court. A proclamation therfore was made, wherby all men were forbidden to enter, except such as were called by name. But because their commaundement seemed to want authoritie, it was litle regarded: and the multitude at the first began to make a greuous sorow and lamentation. But immediately the desyre they had to vnderstand the successe of the matter stopped their lamentation, and made silence. Then Perdicas brought forth in sight of all the people, the kings Chaire of estate, wher-

in Alexanders diademe, his vesture regall, and his armour were laide: amongst the which ornaments, Perdicas also laid downe the kinges signet, deliuered to him the day before, at the sight whereof they began to weepe, and to renue againe their sorow. Then said Perdicas.

Lo, here is the King wherewith he was wont to seale such thinges, as pertained to the gouernement of the Empire, which as he deliuered to mee, I so restore it againe to you. And although no aduersitie can bee deuised by the Gods (were they neuer so much offended) comparable to this: Yet considering the greatnes of the actes which he hath done, we must thinke that as the Gods sent such a man so to raigne in the worlde (hys time beeing expyred that was appointed) they haue called him againe to the place from whence he came. Forasmuch therefore as none other thing remayneth of him amongst vs, but onely that which is alwayes wont to bee remoued from immortalitie: let vs performe the due, pertaining both to his bodie, and to hys name: remembring in what Citie we be, among what kinde of people, and what a king and gouernour wee haue lost. Wee must debate and deuise how to maintaine our conquest amongst them of whom it is gotten: For the doing whereof, it is needfull for vs to haue an head. But whether the same be one or many, it doth consist in you. You are not ignorant, that a multitude of men of warre without an head, is as a body wythout life. Six moneths be now passed, since Roxan was conceiued with childe: we desire of God that she may bring forth a sonne, which may enioy thys kingdome, when he commeth to age. In the meane season appoint you of whom ye will be gouerned.

When Perdicas had spoken those wordes, Nearchus rose vp and said.

There is no man can denie, but that it were meet for Alexanders succession to continue in the blood royall: but to looke for a king that is not yet borne, and to passe ouer one that is in his being already, is neyther expe-

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dient for such menne as the Macedons be, nor yet doth serue the necessitie of the time. There is a sonne which Alexander begot by Barsynes: what should lette, why the Dyademe may not be set on his head?

Pearchus tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the souldiers according to their custom clashed their speares against their targets and continued making of a noise. And when hee would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, ỹ matter had almost bred a sedition, which thing perceiued by Ptholomeus, he spake after this maner.

Neither the sonne of Roxane, nor Barsines, is an issue mete to raigne ouer the Macedons: whose names we should be ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers beeing captiues. Haue we subdued the Persians to that ende, to become subiect to such as be descended of them. That was the thing that Darius and Xerxes, beeing kinges of Persia, wrought for in vaine, with so many millions of men of warre, and with so many Nauyes. This therefore is mine opinion, that Alexanders chayre of estate be set in the myddest of his Court, and that all such as were wont to bee of counsayle with him, shall assemble togither, so often as anie matter requyreth to bee consulted vppon: And that the Capitaines and Rulers of the army shall bee obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptholomeus, but few with Perdicas. Then Antonus spake in this wise.

When Alexander was demaunded, to whome hee would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthiest to be chosen. Whom iudged he worthiest but Perdicas, to whom he deliuered his Ring. This was not done at such time as hee was alone: but when all his frendes were present, hee did cast his eyes amongst them, and

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at length chose out one, to whome he deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kingdome be committed to Perdicas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assembly cried to Perdicas that he shoulde come forth amongst them, and take vp the kings signet. But hee stayed betweene ambition & shamefastnes, thinking that the more modestie he vsed in getting the thing he coueted, they woulde bee so much the more earnest to proffer it vnto him. When hee had stode a good while at a stay doubting what to doe, at length he drewe backe, and stode behynde them that sate nerts vnto hym. When Meleager that was one of the Capitaines, sawe the stay that Perdicas made, he toke courage vppon his feebleines, and saide.

Neyther the Goddes will permit, nor men will suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weyght of such a great Empire should rest vpon his shoulders: I will not rehearse howe there bee many men more noble then hee is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may bee suffered to bee done. There is no difference whether ye make Perdicas king, or the sonne of Roxane, whensoeuer he shall bee borne: Seeing Perdicas goeth about to make himself king. That is the cause why no king can please him, but such a one as is not yet borne. And in such a haste as all we make for to haue a king (which haste is both meete and necessary for the preseruation of our estate) hee onely doth waite for the expyring of times and moneths: imagining that shee shoulde bring forth a man childe, which I thinke ye doubt not but that hee is ready to counterfeyte and exchaunge, if neede bee. If it were so in verie deede, that Alexander had appoynted him to be our king: I am of opinion, that ye same thing

only (of all things he hath commaunded) ought not to be performed and kept. Why do not you runne therfore to ſpoile the treaſure, ſeeing that the people ought to enherite it?

When he had ſpoken thoſe wordes, he brake through the preaſe of armed men: and they ỹ gaue him way, followed him to the ſpoile, whereof he had made mention. The greedineſſe of the treaſure cauſed a great bande of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the aſſembly began to fall to diſorder & ſedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a meane ſouldier, (whom very few did know) had not ſtept forth, and ſpoken to the multitude.

What nede we (quoth hee) to fall to force or cyuill warre, ſeeing we haue a king already, which you ſeeke to finde? The ſame is Arideus Philips ſonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our king, borne & brought vp in the ſame religion & ceremonies that wee doe vſe: who beeing the onely heire, I marueile by what deſeruing of his he is ouerſlipped, and what he hath don why he ſhould not enioy his right, deſcended to him by the vniuerſall lawe of the world? If you ſeeke one to bee comparable to Alexander, you ſhall neuer finde him. If you will haue ſuch one as ſhall approch neere vnto him, this is onely he.

When theſe words were heard amongſt the multitude, thei kept ſilence at the firſt, as if they had beene commaunded by authoritie: but afterwards they cried with one voice, that Arideus ſhould be called, and that they were worthie of death, which made any aſſembly without him. Then Python all beſprinkled with teares, began to ſpeake.

Nowe I perceiue (quoth he) Alexanders caſe to be

most miserable, seeing he is defrauded of the fruite, that such as were his souldiers and subiectes should bring forth at such time as this is. For you hauing respecte onely to the name and memorie of your king, be vtterly blind in the rest of things.

His wordes tended directly to the reproofe of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whom they were meant. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them the more to fauour his cause: and therfore declared by an obstinate crie, that they would not suffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possibilitie: and still called for Arideus to come forth amongst them. Whereupon Meleager (for the malice and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas) toke an occasion boldlie to bring him into the assembly, whom the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. This was the voice of the people: but the nobilitie was of another minde, of whome Python toke vpon him to put Perdicas deuise in execution, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to bee gouernors of the sonne which should be borne of Rorane: adding moreouer, that Craterus and Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: And vpon this they sware the souldiers to be obedient vnto Alexanders issue. Meleager then doubting (not without cause) that some euill might come to him, departed with such as were of his faction: but he returned immediately againe, bringing

ging Philip with him into the Court, and cryed out to the multitude for the assisting of the common wealth, in ayding of the newe king, whome a litle before they had elected: and wylled them to make an experiment of his actiuitie perswading them that hee was the meetest to rule ouer them, being the issue of Philip, that had both a king to his father, and a king to hys brother. There is no profound Sea so stormie nor tempestuous, that raiseth vp so many scourges and waues, as a multitude doth motions & alterations, when they haue gotten the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue.

There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas: but more agréed to make Philip king. They could neyther agrée nor dilagrée to any thing long time togither: one whyle repenting them of that they had determined, and streight waies forethought them of that repentance. Yet finally, they were enclined to preferre the kings bloud. Arideus was put in such feare with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiers was rather silent, then decaied towards him: So that at lēgth he was called againe, and his brothers vesture regall, which lay in the Thaire, put vppon him. And Peleager put on his armour, following as a defence to the person of the newe king. The souldyers of the fotebande clashed their speares to their Targettes, threatening to shedde their

bloud

bloud, which would couet the kingdom that pertained not to them. They reioiced that the force of the Empire should not be disperkled, but still continue in the same family: the right of whose enheritance, comming of the bloud royall, they shewed themselues ready alwais to defend. For by reason thei were accustomed to haue ỹ name of their king in such honour and veneratiõ, they thought no man worthy for it, but such one as came thereunto by discent of bloud. Perdicas therfore was afraid, & with vi. C. men that wer of an approued manhode, toke vpon him to defende the place whereas the body of Alexander lay. Ptholomeus ioyned himselfe vnto him also, and the bande of the yong gentlemen that were about the kings person. But so many thousands of armed men as were vpon the other side, dyd easily breake in vpon them: Amongst whom ỹ king was present with a great band of the gard about his person: whereof Meleager was chiefe. Perdicas therefore in a great fury, called such to his part as would defend Alexanders body: but many of them were sore hurte with dartes that were throwne from the contrary side. At length the auncient men plucked of their head peces, (the better to be knowne) and desired them that were with Perdicas to abstein from ciuil war, and giue place to the king, and to the greater parte. Whereupon Perdicas was the first that laide downe his weapon, and the rest did in like maner.

Melea-

Peleager then perſuaded them that they ſhould not departe, but remaine ſtill about the deade corpes: but he iudging that to bee a deceite, and meane to entrappe him, fledde to a place on the further ſide of Euphrates lying ouer againſt the court. Then the horſmen, which conſiſted chiefly of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, and Leonatus, whoſe opinion was to departe out of the Citie, and take the fields: But becauſe Perdicas was not without hope, that the footemen would haue taken his parte, hee remained ſtyll within the Citie, leaſt he might ſeeme to bee the cauſe that the horſemen ſhould deuide thẽſelues from the reſt of the army. Peleager ceaſed not to beate in the kinges heade, that he could not eſtabliſh himſelfe ſurely in his eſtate, otherwiſe then by the death of Perdicas: whoſe ambitious minde, deſirous of innouation, was (he ſaid) to be preuented in time. He willed the king to remember what Perdicas had deſerued at hys handes, and that no man could be faithfull vnto him whome he feared. The king ſuffering the thing, rather then giuing his conſent to the matter, Peleager toke his ſilence for commaundement, and ſent for Perdicas in the kings name: and they which were ſente, had commiſſion to kill him, if he made any ſticking to come wyth them. Perdicas hearing of their comming, accõpanied onely with ſirteene yong gentlemen (accuſtomed to attende vppon Alexanders perſon) did meet them euen as they would haue entred

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into his lodging, and calling them Meleagers slaues, rebuked them with such a constancie of mind and countenance, that they returned back againe as men amazed. Perdicas willed such as were in his company to leape on horsbacke: and with a fewe of his frendes repayred vnto Leonatus, minding if any violence were mooued against him to repulse it with a greater force.
The nert day the Macedons grudged, and dyd thinke it a matter vnfitting, ỹ Perdicas shoulde be brought in daunger of death after such a sort: and therefore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes of Meleagers doings. But he vnderstanding of the mutinie that was amongst the souldiers, gaue place: and they repayred to the king, demaunding of him if he had commanded Perdicas to be taken. He immediately confessed the thing: but it was done (he saide) by Meleagers motion, which he declared to bee no cause for them to make any stirre, seeing that Perdicas was aliue. The assembly hereupon brake vp and Meleager became greatly afraide, specially so astonied by the parting of the horsemen, that he wyst not what to do: for he saw the mischief (which hee a little before had wrought agaynst his enemie) like to light vppon himselfe. And whilest he deuised this & that, three daies were consumed and spent. The wonted forme and fashion of the Court, did remaine in the meane season. For the Embassadors of many Nations made repayre vnto the king: The Capitains of

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the army did assemble about him, and the garde wayted in armour, as they were accustomed. But the great sadnesse that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreme dyspayze. There was such a suspition amongst thē selues, that men durst not company togither, nor speake one to another, but stode imagining secretly with themselues: and by comparing ỹ time present with the time past, and the newe king with the old, they began to desire him that was gone. Then one enquired of another, wher he was become, whose fortune and authoritie they had followed? Then they found themselues abandoned amongst so many wylde Nations, which were desirous vppon any occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whilest they were troubled in these imaginations, worde was brought that the horsmen (which were vnder Perdicas) kept the fieldes about Babylon, and staied all victuals comming to the Citie. Wheruppon first began a scarsitie, and afterwards a famine. Therfore such as were within the Citie, thought good eyther to make a reconciliation with Perdicas, or els to fight out the matter. It chaunced that such as went abroad in the countrey, fearing ỹ spoile of the villages, repaired into the citie. And they within the Citie, for lacke of victualles departed into the countrey. So that euerie one did think themselues surer any where, then in their owne habitations.

Then

Then the Macedons doubting some great incõuenience that might come of this feare, assembled togither in the Court, & shewed forth their opiniõs. It was agreed amongst them that Embassadors should be sent to the horsemen, for the surceasing of all strife & diuision. Pasus a Thessalian, Amissas a Pegapolitan, and Perelaus, were sent from the king: who declaring their commission, receiued answer that the horsmen would not seuer their power, till the authors of the sedition were deliuered into their handes. When they were returned, and their answere knowne, the souldiers without any appointmẽt put on their armour, and made such a tumult, that the king was enforced to come forth of the Court, and say vnto them.

If wee shall bee at strife amongst our selues, our enemies that bee quiet, shall enioy the fruit of our contention. Remember that the quarell is with your own countrey men, with whom if ye rashly breake the hope of reconcilement, yee shall bee the beginners of a ciuill warre: Let vs proue if the matter may be mittigated by an other Embassage. I am of opinion, that forasmuch as Alexanders body remayneth yet vnburyed, they will gladly come together to performe the due vnto the dead. And for my parte, I had rather surrender vp againe this dignitie, then any bloud should bee shed amongst my countrey men. For if no hope of concord doe remayne, I desyre and pray you to make a better choise.

And with that word he wept, and pulling the Diademe from his head, and holding the same forth with his hande, ready to haue deliuered it to any mã that would haue clayned to be more

ter, blaming their doing, as though he had been sorie for the thing: & finally they agreed, that ỹ authors of such seditious words should be taken When Meleager perceiued Perdicas so conformable, he embraced him, and gaue him thankes for his fidelitie and beneuolence. There by a cõsultation had betwixt them both, they deuysed howe to destroy such as wrought this diuision betweene them. For the bringing of that to passe they agreed, ỹ the army should be purged according to their countrey custome. To the doing whereof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasion, by reason of the late discord amongst them. The kings of Macedõ in purifiyng of their souldiers, were wont to vse a kind of ceremonie, diuiding the bowels of a dog in two parts, and to cast the same into the vttermost boundes of the field, whereon they purposed to muster the army. There the men of warre accustome to stãd armed: both the horsemen, the mercenary souldiers, and the Phalanx, euery one aparte. The same day that this ceremonie was put in execution, the king stode in order of battaile with the horsemen & the Elephants against the footmen, of whome Meleager had the rule. When the troupes of horsemen began to moue, the footmen were striken sodeinly with feare: and by reason of the late discord, conceiued a suspition that the horsemen meant them no good. Wherefore they stode a while in a doubt, whether they should retyre into the Citie or no, by reason that the

fieldes

fieldes serued best for the horsemen. But least without cause they might condemne the fidelitie of their companions, stood still with a determinate minde to fight if any proffered them violence. When the battails were almost met together, onely a smal distance left betwixt them, (whereby the one part was deuided from the other) the king by the procuration of Perdicas, w a band of horsmen did ride along the footmen requyring the deliuery of such to be executed, as were the authors of the discord: whom in verie deede, though hee ought to haue defended: yet if they refused their deliuery, he threatned to bring against them both the horsemen and the Elephants. The footmen were amazed with the sodeinnes of the mischiefe, which they looked not for: & there was no more counsayle nor courage in Meleager, then in the reste: but they all iudged it most expedient for them, rather to abide ỹ aduenture of that request, thē further to hazard fortune. When Perdicas sawe them astonied & in feare, he seuered out to the number of 300. of such as followed Meleager, when he brake out of the assembly, that was first made after Alexanders death: which in the sight of all the army were cast to the Elephants and there trampled to death with their fæte, of which matter, Philip was neither the authour, nor the forbidder: but thought to claime that for his own doing, which should appeare best in the ende. This was a signification and beginning vnto the Ma-

cedons of ciuill warres that ensued. Meleager vnderstanding ouer late the sleight of that deuyse, because there was no violence offered vnto his person, stode at the first quietly within ỹ square: but shortly after, when he saw his enemies abusing to his destructiõ, the name of him whõ he had made king, he dispeired of his owne safegarde, and fled into a temple. But the religion of the place could not so defend him, but that he was there slain. Perdicas hereupon brought againe the army into the Citie: and calling a councell of all the principall personages, it was agréed so to deuide the Empire, that the king should remaine as chiefe of the whole: Ptholomeus to be lieuetenant in Egypt and Affricke, and to haue the rule of the Nations there, that were vnder the Macedons dominion. Siria ỹ Phenices were appointed to Laomedon, Cilitia to Philotas. Licia, with Pamphilia, and the greater Phrigia, were assigned to Antigonus. Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander into Cidia. The lesser Phrigia, that ioyned vnto Hellespont, was Leonatus prouince. Cephenes had Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to defende that countrey so far as Trapezunt, and make war to Ariaraches, who onely remained enemy to the Empire. Medea was appointed to Pythoy, and Thrace to Lisimachus, with other Nations therabouts, bordering vppon the Sea of Ponte. It was ordained also that such as should bee presidentes amongst

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the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians, and other Nations lying vppon the Ocean and red Seas, shoulde in matter of iustice vse regall iurisdiction. It was agreed that Perdicas should remain with the king, and haue the gouernaunce of the men of warre that followed him. Some beleeue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexanders testament: but we haue found the same to be false, though some author doe witnesse the same. The Empyre beeing deuided into partes, euerie one might well haue defended his portion, if any bounds could conteine mens immoderate desires: or if they beeing but ministers vnto a king, when vnder the colour of the administration of an others dominion they had encroched into so great kingdomes, could haue auoyded the occasions of warre, seeing they were all of one Nation, and had their countreys appoynted out by limits. But it is hard for men to bee contented with that they haue in their possessiõ, when occasion is proffered them of more. For ỹ first thinges alwaies arpeere of no value, when men be in hope of greater things to come. So ỹ euerie one of them thought it an easier matter to increase his kingdome, then it was to get it at the first. Alexanders bodie in the meane season lay seuen dayes vnburyed: for whilest euerie man had care vppon the establishing of the state, their minds were drawne from the doing of that solempne office. There is no Countrey more feruent of heate then Mesopotamia. For

the sun there burneth so hot, that it killeth the beasts that be without couert, & burneth vp all things as it were with fire. And to the increase thereof, there be few springs of water, and the inhabiters vse such pollicie in hiding those they haue, that straungers can haue no vse of them. This notwithstãding, when Alexanders frends had gottẽ leysure to take care of the dead corps, and came to visite the same, they found it without infection, corruption, or chaunge of colour: ỹ same chærefulnes which consisteth of the spirit, not being yet departed out of his countenaunce. Then the Egiptians & the Caldeis were commaunded to dresse his body after their maner: who at the first (as though he had bẽne aliue) feared to put their hãds to him. But afterwards making their praiers that it might bee lawfull for mortall men to touch him, they purged hys bodie, and filled it with swẽte odors: And afterwards laid him vpon a hearse of gold, & set a dyademe vpõ his head. Many thought that he died of poyson, & that Iolla, Antipaters sonne, bẽing one of his ministers, had giuen him the same.

Alexander oftentimes would say, that Antipater coueted the estate of a king, affecting more greatnes then perteined to a lieuetenant, & that through glorie of the victorie he had gotten of ỹ Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claymed all things cõmitted to him as his own. It is thought also that Craterus was sente to kill him, with those old souldiers that were dismissed

milled. It is certeine that there is a poyson in Macedon, founde in a water called Sulsitiges, of such force, that it consumeth iron, & wil not be conteined in any thing, sauing in the hoofe of a horse or mule: which poyson was brought by Cassander, & deliuered to his brother Iolla, who presented it in the drinke ỹ the king last dronke. Howsoeuer these things be reported, the power of them on whom the rumour went, shortly after oppressed ỹ infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & Grǽce, and his childrẽ after him: which put to death all such as were any thing nére of kin vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egypt) conueied Alexanders body to Memphis, which within fewe yéeres after was remoued to Alexandria, whereas all honour is giuen to the memory of him, and to hys name.

FINIS.